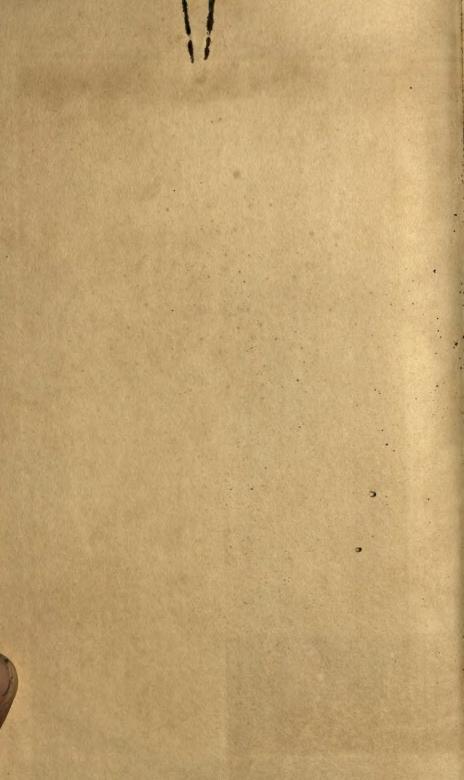
A SHORT HISTORY OF ENGLISH

By H. C. WYLD



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A SHORT HISTORY OF ENGLISH

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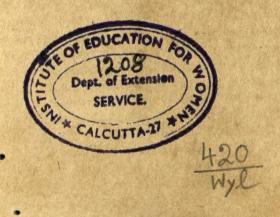
THE PLACE OF THE MOTHER TONGUE IN NATIONAL EDUCATION.

A SHORT HISTORY OF ENGLISH

WITH A BIBLIOGRAPHY AND LISTS OF TEXTS AND EDITIONS

BY HENRY CECIL WYLD

AUTHOR OF 'A HISTORY OF MODERN COLLOQUIAL ENGLISH', ETC.



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PREFACE TO THE REVISED EDITION

IT is now thirteen years since the first edition of this book appeared, and the revision of it, first contemplated six or seven years ago, has been delayed by the urgency of other work. It is a satisfaction to me to feel that whatever the drawbacks of procrastination, which in this case has entailed repeated reprinting of the book in almost its original form, this new edition has gained considerably by the delay. I refer in particular to the completion of two considerable pieces of investigation with which I have been associated, carried out by former pupilsthat on the West Midland Dialects of Middle English, by Dr. Mary Serjeantson of Lady Margaret Hall, and that on the History of the Early London Dialect (including that of the adjacent areas) by Miss B. Mackenzie, B.Litt., of Somerville College. A brief abstract of the former has appeared during the present year (1927) in the Review of English Studies, while the latter is being prepared for publication and will, I hope, appear shortly. Both of these monographs are attempts to answer questions which confronted myself and my pupils in the course of our work on the innumerable problems of M.E. Grammar. Although I have, as I believe, always specifically acknowledged the help derived from the work of others in the course of the present book, I wish to record here how much I owe to both the afore-mentioned ladies, in respect of minute details and more general pieces of information drawn from their copious stores of material, and for the many references to texts and monographs with which they have supplied me. Miss Mackenzie's work on the London dialect carries the conclusions obtained by Heuser in his Alt-London several stages farther, and the general result, which I have attempted to summarize in the proper place below, is I believe to clear up much that was formerly obscure.

I only wish that minute surveys on the same scale as these two on West-Midland and on the London-Middlesex area

were available for the other great dialect areas of Middle English.

Quite apart from the debt already acknowledged, I owe special thanks to Miss Serjeantson for generous practical help of many kinds in the work of revision. Not only has she copied out many paragraphs from my handwriting, at the best a tedious task, and one trying to the eyesight, including the new list of M.E. texts, arranged with some minuteness according to their assumed district or county-all of this so far as the West and Central Midland areas are concerned being based on her own investigations—but she has also rendered me invaluable assistance in determining the re-arrangement and re-numbering of paragraphs, and in indicating precisely what was to be cut out from the old, and where the new matter was to be fitted in. Any one who has undertaken to revise, and partly to re-write, a book of this kind knows how troublesome this work is. The re-statement of the genealogical grouping of the M.E. dialects which appears in the present volume was greatly facilitated by the admirable maps showing dialect boundaries, and comparative tables of dialect forms, with which Miss Serjeantson supplied me. Last but not least, Miss Serjeantson has read all the proofs and suggested many corrections and improvements.

In conclusion let me express the hope that this book may at least serve the purpose of provoking further investigation in the many fields of inquiry here touched on, but too often, alas, left unharvested.

HENRY CECIL WYLD.

MERTON COLLEGE, OXFORD, July, 1927.

PS.—The greater part of this book was already in proof when I received Professor Zachrisson's new book, English Pronunciation at Shakespeare's Time, As Taught by William Bullokar. It will take some time to estimate the full bearing of this most important work, which presents fresh matter in the nature of 'occasional spellings', and a new critical examination of the statements of the early Orthoepists, together with some weighty palaeographical evidence. While Professor Zachrisson agrees in the main with the views expressed in

Chap. vii of the present volume, he differs from some of them in detail, and from others in principle. I think it probable that, as a result of his new investigations, we shall have cause to modify some of the opinions which have prevailed hitherto concerning the pronunciation of the age of Shakespeare. In the present volume I have, unfortunately, only been able to make a few changes in deference to some of the new facts brought to light by Professor Zachrisson.

H. C. W., September, 1927.

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SELECTED LIST OF WORKS ON ENGLISH **PRONUNCIATION**

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1545. Ascham, Roger. Toxophilus. Arber's Reprints.

1549. Latimer, Bp. Seven Sermons preached before Edw. VI. Arber's Reprints.

1550-3. Machyn, Henry. Diary of. Camden Soc. Nichols, 1848. 1573-80. Harvey, Gabriel. Letter Book. Ed. C. J. L. Scott. Camden Soc., 1884.

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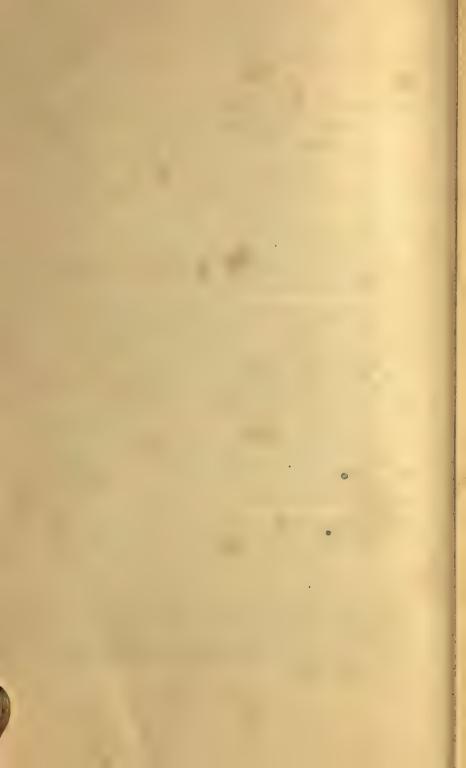
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY. SCOPE OF THE INQUIRY GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

§ I. THE earliest documentary knowledge of English which we possess consists in a few rather scrappy Charters of the last years of the seventh century and the first few years of the eighth. These Charters are in Latin, but contain English Place and Personal names. (See Sweet's O.E.T., pp. 426, etc., chs. i, ii, iv, and v.)

From the end of the seventh century, then, we can trace the development of English, in various forms or dialects, by means of documents which become increasingly numerous as years

go on.

§ 2. During the 1200 odd years over which our knowledge of English extends, changes of very considerable extent have

taken place.

To begin with, the spelling of the words is very different in different ages, so much so, that at first sight it is hardly possible to recognize the identity of the present-day forms with those of their ancestors in bygone ages. We attribute these changes in the spelling, on the whole, to an attempt, more or less successful, to adapt this to the changing pronunciation of the different periods.

Again, we find that the vocabulary changes. While many words remain and retain their old meaning, others, which in one age were in common use, disappear altogether, or they alter their meaning; new words come into use and take the place of those which have dropped out of use. We observe that this process of loss and gain and of change of meaning is

for ever going on in the English vocabulary.

Nor do grammatical forms or inflexions enjoy immunity from change. Many are lost altogether and their places taken by others which had originally a different function and now have extra work thrown upon them. Other inflexions are simply lost without anything being put in their place, and without any loss in intelligibility or definiteness of expression. But the ravages made in the inflexional system of English often involve a new form of sentence, a new construction, a new Syntax.

& 3. All these changes—in Pronunciation, in Vocabulary, in Accidence and Syntax-would have to be considered and described in a complete account. The description of these

phenomena constitutes the History of English.

But the changes referred to do not take place all over the country precisely at the same time, nor in the same way. From the beginning of its career in these islands, English was not a uniform language, but existed in several different forms, or Dialects. As time went on this diversity increased, so that in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the speech of no two counties was exactly alike, and more or less different forms of English were spoken in different parts of the same county. Some of these differences find utterance in the written language.

§ 4. A complete history of English would take into account all the facts in the development of every form of English from the earliest period till the present day.

It is obvious that such a multitude of facts could not be compressed into the compass of one small volume, but would

fill a respectable library of large books.

§ 5. Fortunately, at the present time, the great majority of the English Dialects are of very little importance as representatives of English speech, and for our present purpose we can afford to let them go, except in so far as they throw light upon the growth of those forms of our language which are the main objects of our solicitude, namely, the language of

Literature and Received Standard Spoken English.

We shall have a good deal to say later concerning both Literary and Standard Spoken English. It is enough here to say that they are very closely related; that the origin of both is the same; that the starting-point was in the language of London as spoken by the Court and the upper ranks of Society and in the transaction of official business from the fifteenth century. The problem of the history of this form of English is made complex and difficult by two important facts. First, the dialect of London was, from the geographical position of the city, a border dialect, subject to various dialectal influences from the surrounding areas-from Middlesex itself, where a variety of Saxon was spoken, from Hertfordshire on the North, from Bucks. to the West, and especially from Essex to the East, whence S.E. Midland influence gradually penetrated to the capital. This regional dialect of London, which partook of the characters of several dialect types, when it attained to the position of a common standard, developed

a particular variety which became a Class dialect. Secondly, this Received Standard English, having become the language of the upper classes, was subject to the influence of fashion, and from the later fifteenth century onwards exhibits an ebb and flow in the type of speech, in the pronunciation, and in grammatical forms, in conformity with what is current at different times among those classes or groups of speakers who are recognized as models of 'correctness' in speech and manners, if not always perhaps in every other respect. The early history of Standard English is that of a Regional dialect, modified by surrounding types of regional speech; the later history of Received Standard, and of the leading form used in literature, is mainly that of a Class dialect, modified by other Class dialects, rather than by Regional speech.

To understand the rise of Literary and Standard Spoken English, therefore, it is necessary to know something at least of the early dialects of the S. and S.E. Midlands, many of whose features are common to that dialect which has become the language of Literature and of polite society. We have also to take into account the influence of fashion in causing

a shifting of standards of correctness.

We may, therefore, to some extent, though not wholly, narrow down our inquiry to the problem of the origin and development of that form of English which is now spoken by educated and well-bred people, and, what is to all intents and purposes the same thing, of that form which is the vehicle of literature, and which for the last four or five centuries has also been that used in the composition of private or public documents, no matter what the native form of speech of the writers might be.

§ 6. After the end of the fourteenth century, the other dialects, excepting always those of Lowland Scotch, gradually cease to be the vehicle of literary expression, and are no longer of importance to us as independent forms of English. We cannot afford, however, to let them altogether out of our sight, because the dialectal composition of the Standard Language varies slightly; it adopts or discards this or that element or feature from time to time for reasons, no doubt mainly social, which we cannot determine with exactitude.

This depended, however, largely upon the education of the writer. Thus the Life of S. Editha (Wilts., circa 1420) is written in a very rustic form of English, while the Letters of John Shillingford, a native of Devonshire and Mayor of Exeter, about thirty years later, betray but few typically Southern deviations from London English. (See these Letters, Ed. Moore, Camden Soc., 1871.)

§ 7. In this book, therefore, the developments of the Modern provincial English dialects are not considered unless they can throw light on the history of Standard English.

And while we concentrate mainly upon the history of the dominant form of English, and limit our efforts to an attempt to describe the growth of this, we must further, within this

field, make a careful choice of material.

While we are bound to take cognizance of many particular and general facts of development in the dialects of Old and Middle English, we must of necessity leave unchronicled many details which are of great interest and importance for the special student of these early periods. We cannot attempt a complete account of Old or Middle English, but must confine ourselves, in the main, to such facts as are of significance for our chief theme, the origin and subsequent development of the dominant dialect which emerges towards the end of the M.E. period.

§ 8. We have already enumerated the various aspects of English which have to be considered in a complete treatment—its sounds, its vocabulary, its inflexions, and its syntax. Of these, it is perhaps most important to give as clear an account as possible of the development of the sounds and inflexions. The reason of this is, first, that pronunciation and accidence are the most characteristic features of a dialect, and, secondly, that the history of sounds is especially capable of treatment in terms of general laws or tendencies of change.

A couple of examples will serve to make clear the importance of the history of pronunciation in determining the dialectal character. In Standard English we use the form fire [faiz]. This is from a M.E. fir and an O.E. fyr. The modern form can only be of either Northern or N. East Midland origin. It can only be derived from the M.E. fir. But other types of this word existed in M.E.—fuir [fyr], the type in use in the West and Central Midlands and in the South and S. West, and fer, the Kentish and South-eastern type. Had these types survived into Mod. Engl., the former would have become *fure and the latter *fere [fiə]. Again, take the word knell. goes back to M.E. knellen and to O.E. cnellan. The type shown in these three forms is S. Eastern or Kentish. and Central Midland and Southern type was in O.E. cnyllan, M.E. knullen, which would develop in Mod. Engl. into *knull. The corresponding N. East Midland type would result in a Modern *knill, M.E. knillen. These two illustrations are enough to show the importance of pronunciation as a characteristic feature of dialect. Furthermore, the principles, of which these two words are isolated examples, can be formulated in terms of regular laws, which apply to all words containing the same original sounds. The history of sound changes within the various dialects of O. and M.E., therefore, and the development of the sounds through the Modern period, is bound to form an important section in a book dealing with the history of the English Language.

- & o. The history of English Accidence is partly the history of the treatment of sounds in unstressed syllables, partly also the history of the substitution of one form for another through the influence of the principle known as Analogy (see § 70 below).
- § 10. The changes in English Syntax are due partly to the loss of inflexional syllables and the subsequent recasting of the sentence, partly to the influence of Latin and French sentence structure and idiom.
- § II. Lastly, there is the question of Vocabulary. This is a side of the history of English which requires very judicious handling. Although, for reasons explained in the Preface, this aspect of the history of English is not dealt with here, a few words may be said upon it. It cannot be supposed that in a small book a detailed account of the introduction, origin, and development of meaning of every individual word should be attempted. This would involve, not a statement of general principles, but a series of isolated and disconnected articles. Such work is the business of the lexicographer pure and simple.

It seems better to avoid all treatment of individual words as such in a history of a language, and in tracing in outline the history of the vocabulary to subordinate everything, as far as possible, to principles, citing words merely as illustrations

of these.

Thus it would be quite out of place to give lists of words borrowed from Malay, Chinese, Hungarian, Polish, etc., with any attempt at completeness, because it is far more important to understand how words get from one language into another, and what happens to them, as regards their form, when they do get there, than to have a mechanical knowledge that a particular word was borrowed from some language of which we are entirely ignorant. Any one who knows, say, Greek or Chinese, will have no difficulty in distinguishing the words in English which have been adopted from those languages. Again, it would be improper to take a few hundred native words, haphazard, and describe with minuteness the changes in meaning, perhaps very considerable, which they have undergone, unless the principles of change in meaning, so far as these can be brought under a generalized statement, are first explained, and the particular words cited merely to illustrate the principle.

The same view applies to the method of dealing with loanwords in a short history of a language. It is important and necessary to state what are the principal languages which have contributed to the English vocabulary, how and when the speakers of these languages came in contact with the English, what classes of words we acquired from the various sources, and the history of the external form of the words when once they had become part and parcel of English speech. Armed with these general points, each of which should have been sufficiently illustrated by specific examples, the student will be in a position to discover for himself the sources of many of the principal foreign loan-words, and if he is in doubt, as indeed any one may be, on such a point, there are the Etymological Dictionaries to settle the point for him.

of the history of English in such a book as this, or in a hundred others, many of which may be larger and better, is a barren and lifeless pursuit if divorced from the study of the language itself as it exists in the actual documents of the different periods. If we would feel and realize the drama of linguistic evolution, we must penetrate by patient study into the spirit and life of the language at each period—a long and slow process—and then, when we can 'look before and after', we shall gradually gain a sense of growth and development. No statistical and descriptive account can give this vital knowedge, no amount of laws, and tables, and paradigms. All that the best history of English ever written can do for the student is to act as a guide to the path which he must tread anew for himself.

There is a real danger at the present time for the student of English in the very multiplicity which exists of grammars, histories of the language, monographs on minute points of phonology and syntax, and 'aids to study' of all kinds, a danger that the weary pilgrim will never reach his goal—namely, a first-hand knowledge of the language itself as it exists in the literature. It is to be feared that the formidable and ever-increasing array of books and articles about English

make it, in some ways, more and more difficult to get to the reality. The only means of salvation lies in a constant reference, on the one hand, to the actual texts, and, on the other, to the living spoken English of to-day, in which the great impulses of change are ever at work, and where we can

observe history being made under our very eyes.

For we must never forget that while, from the nature of the case, the past history of a language must necessarily be traced by means of written records, these are to be regarded as affording us merely an indication of what was actually taking place in the spoken language itself. Change in language implies a change in the mental and physical habits of the living human beings who speak the language. The drama of linguistic history is enacted, not in manuscripts nor inscriptions, but in the mouths and minds of men.

CHAPTER II

POSITION OF ENGLISH AMONG LANGUAGES. DIALECTAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL DIVISIONS

§ 13. ENGLISH was introduced into these islands in the fifth century by Germanic tribes who came, in the first instance, under colour of helping Vortigern, the British king, against the Picts. But soon, seeing the 'nothingness of the Britons, and the excellence of the land', the Jutes, who were the first comers, sent for their kinsmen, who, coming in large numbers, murdered and pillaged their way to the possession of the best part of the country, causing the Britons to flee before them 'like fire' into the mountains of the west.

In about a century, the various tribes had settled down, and the thoroughness of their grip on the country may be gauged from the purely English character of most names of places in the South and Midlands, except of course those on the

borders of Wales and in Cornwall.

The principal tribes were the Jutes, the Angles, and Saxons, who came respectively from Jutland, Schleswig, and Holstein.

The Jutes settled Kent, perhaps part of Surrey, part of Hampshire, and the Isle of Wight. The various tribes of Saxons took possession of the rest of the South and West, between the Thames and the Humber. The Angles settled in the North and Midlands.

§ 14. But if the Germanic invaders of Britain were in many respects savages, they were also noble savages, and in their character lay the seeds of much that was worthy and admirable.

In the oldest fragments of heathen poetry, side by side with the fierceness and cruelty which we expect, there are also displayed the excellent qualities of high courage, loyalty to a leader or a cause, a tenderness and a love of nature which spring from what ten Brink calls the 'pious soul of English heathendom'. The pirate who in the fifth century put forth through the mists of ocean' to seek his fortune in an unknown land, and to face, undaunted, risks and dangers, first among the stormy waves, and then amid strange peoples, far from 'his home where he was reared' may have been bloodthirsty and

unscrupulous, but he was certainly neither ignoble in spirit nor contemptible as a man. His descendants, turned farmers, country gentlemen, devotees of the chase, peaceful rulers in their district, protectors of their households, faithful servants of their chief or king, had time and opportunity to cultivate the gentler virtues. But their swords, meanwhile, were not allowed to rust; there was plenty of fighting during the first few centuries of the English settlement. The introduction of Christianity, while it gave a sanction to the innate qualities of altruism, faithfulness unto death, and deep-rooted tenderness which reside in the Germanic peoples, did not destroy, but merely disciplined, and gave a nobler and better controlled direction to the sterner elements in the national character. In Beowulf, the ideal king and warrior of Germanic heathen chivalry, we find essentially the same character and virtues as in Alfred, the Christian monarch and soldier, than whom no nobler figure is to be found in the annals of any nation.

§ 15. Throughout Old English history and literature there appears the expression of a national character, in which what are often regarded as chiefly heathen elements are inextricably blended with the gentler and sweeter qualities that find their natural incentive in Christianity. Thus it is a very superficial criticism which would divide our old poetry into the National (meaning thereby purely heathen) and the Christian, for there is no fundamental difference of spirit between them-both are equally 'national'. Different aspects of the national genius are indeed emphasized in the poetry of heathen and Christian periods, but all the elements and spirit of each are found in both; there is no sudden break, no new departure. turn over the pages of the History of the Church in England, we are struck with something like amazement that such an engaging personality as that of St. Bede, with his serene and lofty outlook upon the world, his tenderness and pathos, his sound historical method, his captivating gift of narrative, his profound piety, could emerge from a people separated by but three generations from heathenism, and by less than three centuries from the ruthless followers of Hengest. From these rude ancestors were to spring, in the course of a few centuries, a long and splendid line of kings, rulers, warriors, and legislators; of poets, mystics, and scholars; of bishops, saints, and martyrs, whom no Englishman of to-day can look back upon without a glow of pride at the thought that he belongs to the same race.

§ 16. The Dialects of Old English.

The language of the Germanic invaders, which in the earliest times can have been but slightly differentiated, had become split up, in the age of the earliest documents, into four still very similar, but nevertheless quite definitely marked dialects. We distinguish the Saxon dialects, the Kentish dialect (that of the Jutes), and the Anglian dialects. Anglian is divided into Northumbrian, the speech of the Angles North of the Humber, and Mercian, that of the Angles of the Midlands. Mercian and Northumbrian, while having several features in common which distinguish them from the Saxon and Kentish dialects, are also characterized severally by distinctive marks. Thus while we can often speak of a characteristic simply as Anglian, we have also to observe carefully the points in which Mercian and Northumbrian differ. We unfortunately know nothing of the early form of the East Anglian dialect.

Of the Saxon dialects, the most important by far is that of Wessex, which we refer to as West Saxon. This form of English is much more fully represented in literature than any other of the early dialects. In fact West Saxon was the nearest approach to a standard literary dialect which existed in Old English. Its prestige gave it currency beyond the bounds of a single province. This is the dialect which is studied first by students of the old language, and indeed there is little to read, and nothing worthy the name of literature, in prose, in any other form of Old English, except some interesting homilies in a dialect which it is now the fashion to refer to as a Saxon Patois. Kentish, Mercian, and Northumbrian are mainly known to us in Charters, Glossaries, in Glosses, or in paraphrases of the Gospels and the Psalms.

A very curious and interesting form of Old English is the Saxon Patois of the Blickling Homilies, and of what are known as the Harleian Glosses, which will be referred to more particularly later on. The view now held is that these are indeed in a Saxon dialect, which has many features in common with the West Saxon literary language of Alfred and Ælfric, while it also shows well-marked deviations that rather resemble Mercian in some respects. It is believed that this dialect developed within the Saxon area, and that it is not due to actual contamination from without. Unfortunately we do not know precisely in what part of the Saxon area this Patois was spoken.

§ 17. The Name of the People and their Language.

The country as a whole is called by our ancestors Englalond, 'land of the Angles'; the people, unless some specific tribe

is designated, are called Angel cynn, 'Angle kin', and the language is known as Englise. Bede uses the expression Angli sive Saxones, implying that both terms mean the same thing, but he generally calls the people Angli, and their language Sermo Anglicus, as a generic term, even when

referring to the language of the Jutes.

The great and good Alfred, King of the West Saxons, the founder of West Saxon prose, calls his own language Englisc, and Ethelbert of Kent, the first English Christian King, applies the word Angli to himself and his people. Much later, the Abbot Ælfric, who wrote pure West Saxon, speaks of turning his Homilies of Ledenum gereorde to Englisere spræce, 'from the Latin language into English speech'. Lingua Saxonica, Saxonice are but rarely used, unless in specific reference to the Saxon dialects. The expression Anglo-Saxon seems to have been coined in the eighteenth century, and is now less and less used among scholars. It is better to follow ancient precedent in this matter, and to call the language of the oldest periods Old English. We speak of this or that dialect of Old English, and also of Old Kentish, Old Mercian, etc.

§ 18. Relation of the O.E. Dialects to other Languages.

Old English belongs to the West Germanic branch of Germanic speech. Parent, or Primitive Germanic, was divided into three great branches: North Germanic, represented by the Scandinavian languages; East Germanic, represented chiefly by Gothic; and West Germanic. The principal divisions of the latter are Old Saxon, Old Frisian, Old English, and the Old High German dialects. Of these, Old Saxon and Old Frisian are most nearly related to English, the latter indeed having so many characteristics in common with O.E. that many scholars are inclined to assume an original unity which they call Anglo-Frisian, and suppose to have differentiated subsequently into Old English on one hand, and Old Frisian on the other. This assumption, however, is open to many criticisms into which we need not now enter.

The Old High German dialects underwent in the sixth century certain considerable changes in the original consonantal sounds, changes which we now find reflected in Modern German. On the other hand, Old High German adheres far more closely to the ancestral system of vowel sounds than any other West Germanic dialect, and also retains the original inflexions with remarkable fidelity.

26 Dialectal and Chronological Divisions [CHAP, 11

By the help of Old Saxon and Old High German, both of which are in many respects nearer to the primitive West Germanic type than O.E., at the time of the oldest documents, we are able to form a very fair idea of a form of O.E. earlier than any which we find recorded, and also to reconstruct West Germanic itself. If we find a feature preserved only in O.H.G. among W. Gmc. dialects, but occurring also in Gothic, and perhaps in Nth. Gmc. as well, we are pretty safe in assuming that it was not only a West Germanic feature, but had survived from Primitive Gmc. itself. Such a feature is, for example, the survival of the old diphthong ai in O.H.G. (written ai, ei) as in stein 'stone', which in Goth is stains, and in old Norse steinn. We have no doubt that this was a West Gmc. sound, though O.E., O.Sax., and O.Fris., have all lost it.

§ 19. The Chronological Divisions of English.

If we bear in mind that language changes gradually, and that it is perpetually changing, it will be evident that it is impossible to define with precision the exact date at which a language passes out of one stage and enters upon a new era of its existence. The process is a continuous one, and one period passes by insensible gradations into another. At any given moment there exist side by side with young speakers, whose language represents the 'latest thing' in speech development, an old generation who still represent an order of things which has passed away except in the speech of themselves and their exact contemporaries, and also an intermediate generation whose speech shows some characteristics both of the new and the old.

It is nevertheless the case, that round about a particular period of time, we can observe certain tendencies arising, and gaining ground as time goes on. We are thus able to mark off the course of any language whose records cover a considerable extent of time into more or less rough chronological divisions, each of which has definite features which distinguish it from what is before and after.

From this point of view, and for the sake of convenience, we make the following more or less rough and approximate chronological divisions of English:

Old English Early O.E. End of seventh century.

Early O.E. Eighth and ninth centuries.

Late O.E. From beginning of tenth century to about 1050.

Early Transition English. From 1050-1150.

Middle English (Early M.E. 1150-1250. Central M.E. 1250-1370. Late M.E. 1370-1400.

Modern English Early Modern. 1400–1500. Seventeenth century. Eighteenth century. Present day. From 1800.

Such divisions as these are necessarily arbitrary, and will largely depend upon what features are selected as distinguishing tests. Some will prefer to consider the Modern period as beginning about 1450, and will apply the form Early Modern to English as it existed between this date and the middle of the following century.

CHAPTER III

THE SOUNDS OF SPEECH

§ 20. It is not proposed to give here an elaborate treatise on Phonetics, but as Sounds are the realities of Speech, and as much confusion of thought often prevails concerning the nature and mode of formation of these, it seems desirable to include a few remarks concerning them.

In the first place it is important to use a clear terminology, and to use it consistently. A good phonetic terminology is one which expresses briefly, and unambiguously, the facts of

utterance.

As experience has convinced the present writer that Sweet's method of classifying and describing sounds is the most exact and adequate, it will be employed throughout this chapter, and generally in this book.

NOTE. Symbols placed in brackets, as [b], are phonetic symbols, which will be used in this work when necessary.

§ 21. Voice and Breath.

A very important organ of speech is the Glottis, which contains two membranes capable of vibration, and known as the vocal chords. When the vocal chords are drawn across the Glottis, so as to close it, the air when driven from the lungs passes in a series of puffs through the chords, and makes them vibrate. This vibration causes a buzzing sound which is known as Voice. Sounds which are accompanied by this vibration are known as Voiced Sounds. If, on the other hand, the vocal chords are not drawn tight, but lie folded back against the walls of the Glottis, the air passes through the throat without any hindrance, there is no vibration of the chords, no Voice. Sounds produced under these conditions, and without any vibration of the Chords, are called Voiceless, Un-voiced, or Breath sounds.

Examples of Voiced Sounds are the consonants s as in buzz, v as in vice, and the th [8] in this. Vowels, as their name

implies, are usually voiced in nearly all languages.

Examples of Voiceless, or Breath Sounds, are s in sit, f in fat, and the th [b] in think.

§ 22. Consonants and Vowels.

The fundamental difference between Consonants and Vowels depends upon the degree of opening of the Mouth Passage.

Thus in a Consonant the mouth passage is either completely stopped for a moment, as in [p, t, k], or sufficiently closed or narrowed to produce a perceptible friction, as in [f], sh [] in ship, or th [b] in thin.

In forming vowel sounds, on the other hand, the passage is never narrow enough to cause friction when the air-stream passes through. This can be realized at once if we compare

the consonant [v] with the first vowel in father [a].

Consonants formed by a momentary closing or stopping of the air-passage, as in [p, t, k], are called Stops, or Stopconsonants; those formed by merely narrowing the passage and causing friction [f, p, f] are called Open Consonants, or by some writers Continuants.

§ 23. Classification of Consonants.

There are three points to be observed in describing a Consonant sound: Where is it made? How is it made? Is it voiced or not?

§ 24. The question 'Where?'

Consonantal articulation, that is, the production either of Stops or Open Consonants, may take place in the Throat or in the Mouth Passage. Throat open consonants occur in Arabic, and a Throat Stop (Glottal Stop) occurs in Danish, and, in a milder form, in German, and in several forms of Scots, but as a rule the consonants of the European languages are formed in the mouth. This being so, it is better to discard altogether the misleading term Guttural in dealing with the sounds of English and other European languages.

The majority of the Consonants formed in the mouth are made by different parts of the tongue; some are made by the lips, and some by the combined activities of tongue and lips. In addition to these organs, the soft palate or Velum and the Uvula also function, the former functioning together with the tongue in forming back consonants: stops, open, nasals, etc., the latter vibrating against the tongue in the back trills.

§ 25. Consonants made with the Tongue.

It is possible to form consonants with every part of the upper surface of the Tongue, along its whole length from the Root to the Point or Tip. It is important to map out

roughly the chief characteristic areas of the tongue, since each of these forms a typical kind of consonant sound. Starting at the *Back* and working forward, we have the following areas: *Back*; *Front* (or Middle of the tongue); *Blade* (the area just behind the *Point*); the *Point* itself.

As a rule, a consonant is formed between the tongue and that part of the roof of the mouth immediately above the

tongue area which is being used.

§ 26. Back Consonants.

Typical sounds of this class are [k, g], back voiceless, and back voiced stops respectively. This is the class often unfortunately called Gutturals, a misleading and meaningless term in this connexion, because they are not formed in the Throat at all, but between the Back of the tongue and the Soft Palate.

Note that Back Consonants may be made with the Root (Root Cons.); by the part just in front of the Root (Full Back); or slightly further forward (Back Advanced). The Back area is, however, perfectly definite in extent, and if we try to form [k] or [g] first with the Root, and then further and further forward, we shall find there is a limit which we cannot pass without the resulting sound ceasing to be a typical Back [k] or [g] stop, and becoming something quite different. The Full Back stop is heard in the English cart, cup; the Back Advanced in keep, kit. The reason for this difference will be apparent later, when we deal with the articulation of vowel sounds.

§ 27. Front Consonants.

This class of sounds, made with the Middle or Front of the tongue, is exceedingly important in the History of English, and unfortunately its character is often misunderstood. Much of the confusion of mind which prevails concerning Front consonants arises from the misleading and vague term Palatal which is often applied to them. The word ought to be banished from the vocabulary of scientific students of language because it has no meaning. If Palatal means 'formed with the roof of the mouth', then it may be said that all consonants made by the tongue are formed between this and some part of the roof of the mouth; if it be argued that the term refers only to the Hard Palate, then the reply is that in that case it would apply also to a totally different class, the Blade consonants. The important thing is to know what part of the tongue is being used in forming a given consonant. We therefore shall do well to get rid for ever of this unmeaning term.

We have only one Front Consonant in Modern English, namely the Front Open Voiced which we write y, as in you,

yacht. The symbol generally used for this is [j]. In German not only this sound exists, as in jung, Fahr, but also the voiceless form of it, as in ich [ij]. The student should make a point of realizing, by practice, when he is using the Front area of the tongue, and should then proceed to form a Stop Consonant, both Breath and Voiced, with the same part of the tongue. The Front Stops undoubtedly existed for a time in Old English. The effect on the ear of a voiceless front stop is that of a peculiar kind of [t]; that of the voiced front stop, of a peculiar kind of [d]. For this reason we denote

these sounds by the symbols [t] and [d] respectively.

It should be noted that when we pronounce a Front Consonant, the tongue is drawn up so that the Middle is brought into play, and the Point is curled round and down, so that it lies in the cavity below and behind the lower front teeth. If the Point is in any other position than this we may be sure that we are not pronouncing a Front Consonant at all. Unless the theory and practice of this class of sounds be well understood, a great deal that is written about 'Palatalization' is entirely devoid of meaning. Students must take the trouble to learn this, to most Englishmen and Germans, entirely new class of Stops. Front Stops occur in Russ. дядя [dáda] and in Swedish kenna [ténna]; Front Divided in Italian voglio [vɔrlo]; Front Nasal in French montagne [mɔ̃tan], Ital. vergogna [vergona].

§ 28. Blade Consonants.

To this class belong [s] and [z]. These are really the only members of the group which concern us much, though in Modern English it is probable that some speakers use Blade Stops instead of the ordinary Point Stops, especially before [s, ž] in the combinations [ts] and [dž] in hitch, bridge respectively.

§ 29. Blade Point Consonants.

The typical Blade Point Consonants are sh [s], as in ship, schön, cher, and the initial consonant in French jamais [2], the final in rouge, the medial consonant in pleasure [pleze]. While we have both the Voiced and Voiceless Blade Point Open consonants in English and French, in German only the voiceless []] exists, [ž] being often very difficult for German speakers to acquire.

In articulating this class of sounds, the Blade is raised, the tongue is slightly retracted, and the Point is turned upwards and backwards. The air-stream has to pass over both Blade and Point.

§ 30. Point Consonants.

These are often loosely called 'Dentals', a term which is not applicable to English [d] and [t], in which the Point does not touch the teeth, but forms a stop against the upper gums or Alveolars just behind the teeth. Thus the English Point Consonants [t] and [d] may be called Point Alveolars if it is desired to be very exact. As a matter of fact, the difference between point-teeth [t] and point-alveolar [t] is hardly perceptible to the ear. In German and French [t] and [d] are genuine Point-Teeth consonants, or 'Dentals'.

§ 31. Point-Teeth Consonants.

The only *Point Consonants* which are articulated against the upper teeth in English are the *Point-Teeth Open* consonants, [8] as in *this*, and [\$] as in *think*. The difficulty which foreigners sometimes find in pronouncing these sounds is largely imaginary. The way to obtain them is to pronounce the P.-T. Stops, and then relax the pressure against the teeth, so that the air-stream can pass through with the characteristic hiss or buzz of this class of sounds. In English, some speakers form [\$\beta\$, \$\beta\$] merely by putting the point of the tongue lightly *against* the upper teeth, other speakers allow the point to protrude slightly between the upper and lower teeth.

§ 32. Lip Consonants.

These are made by the activity of both lips. The Stops [b] and [p] are typical examples of this class and need no comment.

§ 33. Lip-Teeth Consonants.

These are made by bringing the lower lip against the upper teeth, and allowing the air-stream to pass between the narrow passage thus formed. The Open consonants of this group, [f] and [v], exist in most European languages.

§ 34. Lip-Back Consonants.

The Lip-Back Open are the sounds which concern us. These are the English [w], and [w] or Voiceless [w] written wh, as in which. These sounds are made by bringing the lips fairly close together, so that a slight consonantal friction is caused when the air-stream passes, and at the same time

raising the Back of the tongue. English [w] is a very important sound, not merely because of its occurrence in Modern English, but because it is one of the oldest sounds in the language. It has remained unchanged, apparently, not merely since the West Germanic and Primitive Germanic periods, but even from the Primitive Aryan mother-tongue.

Voiceless [w], or [w] occurs invariably in those words which are written with initial wh (except who, whole, and one or two more), in the pronunciation of Scotch and Irish speakers. Many English people, even in the South, now use this sound, but it is certainly not natural in English speech from the Midlands downwards, and has been introduced comparatively recently—within the last thirty and forty years—apparently through Scotch and Irish influence, backed up by the spelling. Many excellent speakers of Standard English never use the sound at all.

§ 35. Lip-Front Consonants.

These are formed, as regards their consonantal element, entirely with the lips, but with the activity of the latter is combined the raising of the *Front* of the tongue. The *Voiced Lip-Front Open* $[\beta]$ occurs in French *huit* $[\beta it]$, etc., and the voiceless $[\phi]$ in the same language, when ui is written, after a voiceless consonant, especially an Open voiceless, as in *fuite* $[f\phi it]$.

§ 36. The Question 'How?' Consonants are formed.

Besides knowing the area in the mouth at which consonants are formed, it is necessary to know also how the active part is being used.

We distingtish five modes of forming consonantal sounds: Stops, and Open Consonants—already described, Divided articulation, Nasalization, and Trilling.

Some areas of the tongue, e.g. the Back and the Point, can be used in all these ways.

NOTE. A trill is made either with the point of the tongue, or against the back of the tongue, with the uvula.

§ 37. Divided Consonants.

These are what are popularly called 'l'-sounds. They are made by forming a complete contact between some part of the tongue and the corresponding area of the palate or the teeth, while at the same time the edges or sides of the tongue are allowed to sink slightly, so that the air-stream can pass on either side of the point of contact. Thus the English and

German [1] sounds are made with the *Point* of the tongue. There is a complete stoppage at one place, but on either side of this there is an opening through which the air-stream passes. Thus the *Divided Consonants* have something in common both with *Stops* and *Open Consonants*, since there is complete contact at one point, but also there is an open passage so that the sound can be prolonged. The same mode is practicable with the back of the tongue. The *Back Divided* [t] is heard in Russian, e.g. in 6 hate. In English, [l] is unvoiced after a voiceless consonant, as in *fling*, where [1] begins unvoiced, and is then voiced. In French souffle [sūt] the [1] is unvoiced altogether.

§ 38. Nasal Consonants.

Nasalization is produced by opening the passage which leads from the throat to the Nose, so that the air-stream

passes through the latter.

Any consonant may be nasalized, that is, the nose passage may be open, no matter what activities are going on in the mouth passage. At the same time, in most civilized European languages, the nasalization of consonants is confined to stops. The chief characteristic nasals are [n] Point-nasal; [n] Backnasal, as in sing [sin]; Lip-nasal [m], limb [lim]. We might say with perfect accuracy that [n] was a nasalized [d]; [n] a nasalized [g]; and [m] a nasalized [b]. The student may practise passing from [g] to [n], [d] to [n], etc., by the simple process of opening the nose passage, without releasing the stop.

In some languages, voiceless nasals occur, but they are not very common. Thus in French rhumatisme is often pro-

nounced [rømatism] but also [rømatizm(a)].

§ 39. Trills.

These sounds are popularly known as the 'r'-sounds. The two chief, if not the only Trills, are the Peint-Trill [r], and the Back-Trill [s]. The former, which is heard among Scotch speakers, and probably occurred in Old and Middle English generally, is made by the rapid vibration of the Point of the tongue just behind the upper teeth. The latter, often heard in French, is produced by retracting the tongue, raising the Back of this organ, and allowing the Uvula to vibrate upon the raised surface.

Modern English [r] is not really a Trill at ail, but merely a very weak Point Open consonant. The r-sounds, both in French and English, are unvoiced after voiceless consonants.

§ 40. The meaning of the third point to be considered in describing consonants, whether they are voiced or not, has already been explained (§ 21).

§ 41. If we combine the three points just discussed, we get the following table of consonant sounds:

	Ba	ck.	Fre	ont.	Bla	ide.	Bla	de- nt.	Po	int.	L	ip.	Li	p- th.	Li	p- ck.	Li	p- nt.
	B.	V.	В.	v.	B.	V.	B.	V.	В.	V.	B.	V.	В.	V.	B.	V.	В.	V.
Open	χ	ढ	į	j	S	z	ſ	ž	þ	ধ	Ð	ъ.	f	v	w	w	φ	β
Stop	k	g	t	d					t	d	P	b						
Divided	ţ	t	·j	·l					Į	1								
Nasal	ŋ	ŋ	ņ	ň					ņ	n	m	m						
Trill	я	Я							\$	r								

NOTE. The Blade and Blade-point stops, Divideds, and Nasals are omitted from this Table because they occur as a rule only in combination with $[\int, z, s, z]$. Some speakers no doubt tend to assimilate [t] to $[\int]$ in [t], but it is unnecessary for our present purposes to distinguish these sounds by special symbols.

§ 42. General Remarks upon the Consonants.

In order to realize the precise nature of each consonant, and the organic relation of one group to another, as well as of the individual sounds in each group, it is desirable to practise various exercises.

The student should practise in the first place the art of Voicing and Unvoicing, that is of alternately closing and opening the vocal chords without altering the position of the organs of the mouth.

The Open Consonants, Divided, and Nasals are the best for this purpose, as they can be prolonged: [s-z, p-3, j-j] etc. Another exercise is nasalizing and de-nasalizing. Thus the process of opening and closing the nose passage should be practised by passing from [g] to [n] and vice versa, and the same exercise should be tried with [b-m, d-n].

It is well to practise the consonants in organically related groups; all the *point*, all the *back*, all the *front* consonants in order. While it is highly desirable to learn to isolate sounds, and to pronounce consonants by themselves, it is useful also to add the vowel $[\bar{a}]$ in pronouncing a consonant, thus— $[\delta \bar{a}]$ d \bar{a} , $n\bar{a}$, $l\bar{a}$, $r\bar{a}]$, and so on with the consonants of each group.

It is particularly instructive to pass from Stop to Open, from Open to Stop of each group, gradually opening the Stop until the Open is fully formed. Besides practising the sounds in this vertical order, it is also an excellent thing to start with a back consonant, and shift the place of articulation gradually forward, until the point of the tongue is reached: $[g\bar{a}, g\bar{a}, d\bar{a}, d\bar{a}]$ and so on. Practise this also with the Open, Divided, Nasal, and Trill, both Voiced and un-Voiced.

These exercises are all of them important for the student of the history of a language, because they illustrate the various possible changes in articulation which occur from time to time during the life of a language. A thorough mastery of these processes makes the history of a language more of a reality, and enables the student to get away from graphic formulae. Thus in stating Verner's Law [see Note 2 following § 352] it is essential to think in terms of sounds rather than of symbols, and to be able to say that under such and such conditions the Germanic Voiceless Open Consonants, derived from the corresponding Aryan or Indo-Germanic Voiceless Stops, were voiced, rather than to think of the process in terms of a graphic formula and to say that p, t, k which had become f, p, x, later, under the conditions stated by Verner, became b, J, Z.

§ 43. The Classification of Vowel Sounds.

There are four points which must be considered in describing and classifying a Vowel Sound: the Height of the Tongue; the Part of the Tongue used; the Condition of the Tongue; the Participation or non-Participation of the Lips.

§ 44. The Height of the Tongue.

The Tongue can be raised or lowered in the mouth, and these movements correspond to the movements of the lower jaw. We distinguish three degrees of Height: High, Mid, and Low. In the High position the tongue is usually raised as high as is consistent with the absence of friction. Thus in [i] as in beat, viel, si, the tongue is practically as high as is possible without passing into a consonantal sound. If the tongue be raised but very little from the position which it occupies in [i] it soon ceases to be a vowel, and becomes [j]. The Mid position is that which the tongue occupies when it is in the middle of the mouth. The Low position involves a still greater lowering of the tongue and sinking of the lower jaw, so that the mouth is, comparatively speaking, fairly wide open. The three degrees of height are illustrated in the

three English words [bit, bet, bæt] which in the Standard pronunciation are High, Mid, and Low, respectively. It is important to learn to realize the upward and downward movements of the tongue, and the student may learn a great deal at the beginning by merely deliberately moving the tongue up and down silently and without attempting to utter any particular sound.

§ 45. The Part of the Tongue Used.

The tongue may be drawn back in the mouth, so that the back part comes into play; it may be advanced, so that the front comes into play; or it may lie practically flat in the mouth, so that its whole upper surface is used.

Vowels made with the Back of the tongue are called back vowels; those made with the Front are front vowels; those

with the whole surface are known as flat vowels.

NOTE. Sweet, whose classification is here used, describes the last class as *Mixed Vowels*. The term *Flat* is used in this book, as less likely to lead to confusion, and as being more descriptive of the facts.

Examples of back vowels are [a] as in father, Bahn, etc.; [5] as in English saw.

Front vowels are heard in the English words bet, bat,

French si, de, and in German Vieh, lehnen, etc.

Flat vowels do not occur in French, but a typical English sound occurring in heard, worm, curl [hād, wām, kāl] belongs to this group, as does the common unstressed vowel [ə], as in butter [batə], Wordsworth [wādzwəb]. A flat vowel is also heard in German in the unstressed syllables of Vater, Knabe, etc.

NOTE. In back vowels the tongue slopes down from back to front; in front vowels, from front to back. These two classes are sometimes called sloped vowels. In the flat vowels there is no slope, hence the name.

§ 46. The Condition of the Tongue.

The condition referred to is the muscular condition, which may be one of *Tenseness*, in which the tongue is braced and hard, or, on the other hand, one of *Slackness*, in which the tongue is relatively soft and slack. Vowels uttered with the tongue *tense* have a clearer, shriller sound, and a higher pitch, than those uttered with the tongue *slack*. We call the former tense vowels, the latter, *slack* vowels.

NOTE. Sweet uses the term Narrow for tense vowels, and Wide for slack. Tense and Slack are used here, after the example of many

phoneticians, as being more definitely descriptive of the facts, and less likely to give rise to misapprehensions.

The essential and characteristic difference between tense and slack vowels may be heard by contrasting the mid-front-tense [e], as in French de, or German Weh, with the mid-front-slack vowel [s], as in English head, pen, or German fett, hell, etc. The student should also attempt to distinguish between the different muscular sensations felt in pronouncing alternately [e] and [s].

§ 47. It is rather important to warn students against confusing Tenseness with Height, as is done by the ambiguous terminology too frequently used. Thus when a writer talks of an 'Open Vowel' and a 'Close Vowel', it is never quite clear what he means. For some writers call [e] 'open e' (German 'offenes e'), as distinct from [e] which they call 'close e'. Here the real distinction is purely one of Tenseness, and not of Height at all. But the same writers also refer to [5], as in English saw, as 'open o', as distinct from [o] in French beau or German Lohn. Here the distinction is definitely one of Height; [o] being mid-back-tense, and [o] low-back-tense.

There is no necessary connexion between Height and Tenseness. There are two distinct series of vowels, one made with a tense tongue, the other with a slack, but differing in no other particular. Thus, if we take the Front vowels, we can pronounce High, Mid, and Low Tense, and also vowels in the same three positions Slack. It is a mistake to suppose, as some writers appear to suggest, that in passing from the High Tense to the Low Tense it is necessary to pass through several slack stages. If, for instance, the tongue be slightly lowered from the High Tense, we do not get a Slack vowel, but merely a lowered Tense vowel, unless, of course, the tongue be deliberately slackened, which is not at all necessary. A mid-tense vowel is not higher than a mid-slack in the sense that the whole tongue is raised. It is true, however, that when the tongue is made taut, the upper surface, or part of it, stands up rather more than when the tongue is slack and soft, In the same way we can raise our arm to a certain position, and while neither raising it nor lowering it, we can either make the muscles stand out in lumps or allow them to lie soft and unstrained. But unless we deliberately choose to do so, we do not raise the arm when we stiffen the muscles.

All this, like any other fact in phonetics, the student must

bring to the test of his own experience.

§ 48. The Activity of the Lips.

In pronouncing a vowel sound the lips may either be passive, or, in some cases, drawn right back from the teeth (spreading), or they may be slightly protruded, so that they take part in the articulation, and modify the sound uttered. Vowels in whose formation the lips take part are called Rounded vowels; those in whose formation the lips take no part are called Unrounded. In describing a vowel of the latter sort, the term Unrounded need not be used, as it is assumed that if no mention is made of Rounding this is absent. Examples of Rounded vowels are: [y] as in French but [byt], which is high-front-tense-round; [v] as in German schon—mid-front-tense-round; [v] as in English boot [būt]—high-back-tense-round; [o] as in German Bohne [bōne] or French beau [bo]—mid-back-tense-round, and so on.

It should be realized that as the movements of the lips are quite independent of those of the tongue, Rounding may be combined with any Position, or Height, or Condition of the

tongue.

The student should therefore practise combining Rounding with every possible tongue position, and also, starting with familiar Round vowels, he should learn to unround these, without altering the tongue position.

§ 49. Degrees of Rounding: Different Kinds of Rounding.

Some vowels have more Rounding than others. Normally, this depends upon the Height of the tongue; the higher the tongue, the greater the degree of Rounding. Some languages have abnormally rounded vowels, that is, vowels with greater or less rounding than normally belongs to that degree of height with which they are uttered. Vowels which have more than normal rounding are known as over-rounded, those which have less, as under-rounded. Over-rounding occurs in the German ü in Bühne, where a midfront-tense has the degree of rounding which belongs to a high vowel, so that the ü here is really [o] with increased rounding. Again, the Swedish god 'good' is a mid-back-tense with over-rounding.

The effect upon the ear of an over-rounded vowel is that of the next higher round vowel, so that the vowel in Bühne

suggests [y] and that in Sw. god [u].

In Back-round vowels the shape of the lip-opening is roughly o, in Front-round vowels, roughly 0.

§ 50. Table of Vowel Sounds.

Unrounded Vowels.

	Fre	ont.	Ва	ck.	FI	at.
High	Tense. [i he, Sie	Slack. I i Fisch	Tense.	Slack.	Tense. I i Russ. сыръ	Slack. T i bit (Engl.)
Mid	e de, sehr	β ε bell, Germ. Bett] a but (Engl.)	J a father Mann] ë gute	∫ ə fath <i>er</i>
Low	τ	τ æ hat (Engl.)	1	J åpre	I a bird	I

Rounded Vowels.

	Fr	ont.	Ba	ck.	Flat.			
	Tense.	Slack.	Tense.	Slack.	Tense.	Slack.		
High	f y lune		ł u who, shoot; ruh		f ü Swed.	T		
Mid	f ø le, Goethe	€	} o beau	Jo Germ. Gott	ł	t bonne		
Low	ŧ	l ö beurre, Götter	3 hall	Jo hot (Engl.)	I	Ŧ		

§ 51. Pitch of Vowels.

Every vowel sound has an inherent musical pitch, or note, which depends upon the shape of the mouth passage, the condition of the tongue, and the position of the lips. This inherent pitch is drowned in ordinary speech by the powerful vibration of the vocal chords, and is best heard by Whispering the vowel.

By Whisper phoneticians mean a definite contraction of the Glottis, which causes a slight friction of the air-stream

against the walls of this organ.

The factors which determine pitch have been briefly mentioned, but it may make it clearer if it be said that front vowels are higher in pitch than back vowels; high are vowels higher in pitch than mid, mid higher in pitch than low; tense

vowels have a higher pitch than slack; unrounded vowels are higher than rounded vowels.

§ 52. Quantity or Vowel Length.

The length or duration of a vowel sound is relative to other vowels in the language. In English our so-called short vowels are often of considerable length, as long as, or even longer, than what are considered long in other languages.

Although there is no necessary connexion between Length and Tenseness, many languages tend to make most of their long vowels tense and their short ones slack. In English and German long [i] and [u] are always tense, the same sounds when short always slack. This same is not true of French, however, where [i] and [u] are always tense, and generally short, except before r.

§ 53. Nasal Vowels.

All vowel sounds may be pronounced with the nose passage open, and vowels so uttered are called nasal or nasalised vowels. Such vowels, though frequent in French and in Polish, are unknown in Standard English and in German. They certainly existed, however, in prehistoric O.E., as well as in West Germanic and Primitive Germanic. We express them by placing [~] over the ordinary vowel symbol, thus [bɔ] = French bon.

§ 54. Intermediate Degrees of Height.

Although we only distinguish three characteristic degrees of Height, intermediate degrees occur in many languages and dialects. Thus in many forms of Provincial English a pure mid-front-stack is unknown, the sound being replaced by a mid vowel so much lowered in the direction of the low-front [æ] that to unaccustomed ears it is barely distinguishable from that sound. In Modern Dutch the high-front-stack seems to be lowered to the mid-front, while in words where this must once have existed the sound is lowered to the low-front. Thus pit 'lamp-wick' sounds like [pet], and veldt like [vælt].

In Danish [e] is raised almost to [i]. These facts are instructive in tracing the history of pronunciation in a language. For instance, when we find that in English an earlier [hēd] 'heed' has become [hīd], there can be little doubt that we have here the result of a process of gradual raising, and that at one time our ancestors must have pronounced a raised form of [e], not yet [i] but gradually tending towards it.

§ 55. Diphthongs.

A diphthong is a combination of two distinct vowel sounds, one of which only is stressed or accentuated. Only the stressed element in a true diphthong is syllabic, the other element being too much lacking in sonority, compared with the strong element, to function as a separate syllable.

§ 56. The Syllable.

The simplest account of what constitutes a syllable is to say that anything which maintains a unity of utterance produces the impression of a single syllable; anything which tends to break up or destroy that unity produces the impression of more than one syllable.

The syllable is the unit of utterance, and may consist of a single vowel $[a, \bar{a}]$; of a single consonant [l, v, b, p], etc.; of a vowel + consonant [at, al]; of two vowels dominated by one stress [ai, ia], etc.; of a group of consonants uttered

with a single impulse of stress [pst].

The factors which break up the unity of an utterance are differences of Stress and differences of Sonority.

§ 57. Stress.

If $[\bar{a}]$ be uttered with gradually diminishing Stress or Loudness, the sense of unity remains, and the same is true of a long vowel uttered with equal loudness throughout its whole duration.

If, on the other hand, a long vowel be uttered with strong or loud beginning, then sudden diminution of stress, then sudden increase, and again a diminution, the result is not one long, but a series of short syllables [áaáaáa]. This series would consist of six syllables, three strong and three weak.

§ 58. Sonority.

Such combinations as [al, ad, ab, ai] consist of a sonorous element followed by one less sonorous. The reduction in sonority is gradual, and does not break the sense of unity. On the other hand, if the sonority be reduced and then increased again, the effect is at once that of two syllables. Thus [ala, apa, aia] cannot be other than two syllables. Here the sonority is reduced by [1, b, i] respectively. [a] being a vowel is more sonorous than [1, p]; much more so than the latter, which is not only a consonant, but voiceless. [a] is more sonorous than [i] because, although the latter is a vowel, it is a high-vowel, and therefore has a narrower airpassage than the former, which is a mid-vowel.

Sonority then may be reduced in various ways: (1) by a pause, as in [a]/[a]; (2) by a Stop placed between vowels, which interrupts the sound altogether for a moment, if voiceless, and almost so, if voiced—[aba, apa]; (3) by an open consonant, which requires a narrower air-passage, and is therefore less sonorous than the highest vowel uttered with equal force [afa, apa, asa, aza], etc.; (4) by a less sonorous (higher) vowel, between two more sonorous (lower) vowels [aua, aia].

In combinations such as [æpl] we have the requisite conditions for the existence of two syllables—Sonorous sound + complete momentary cessation of sound in [p], followed by great increase of sonority in [1]. The last sound here becomes syllabic by contrast with the un-sonorous [p]. In [pleit] there is only one syllable, because there is a gradual increase of sonority from the beginning of the word until the first element of the diphthong, and then a gradual reduction. [1] here is not syllabic because its sonority is drowned by the greater sonority of the vowel which follows.

§ 59. Limits of the Syllable.

The question, at what point one syllable ends and the next begins, is largely one of the incidence of fresh stress or

impulse of breath.

The point of lowest stress constitutes the close of the syllable, and the next begins at the moment at which the new impulse is given. In anigh [9/nai], the nasal consonant begins with the breath impulse, and it therefore belongs to the second syllable. In an eye, in careful speech $[9n \ ai]$ the reduction goes on until the end of [n], and the new impulse begins with [ai]; in this case, therefore, [n] belongs to the first syllable.

In rapid, unstudied speech, the syllable-division in an eye tends to be precisely the same as in anigh, namely [ə/nai].

CHAPTER IV

GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF THE HISTORY OF LANGUAGE

§ 60. It has already been pointed out, in the Introductory Chapter, that the drama of the development of Language takes place, so to speak, upon the lips and in the minds of living human beings, and not in books or written documents. In other words, language changes by being spoken.

We are therefore concerned to understand, so far as may be, how the activities of the speakers are related to the changes

which these make in their language.

We must consider that if a nation gradually alters its language it is the individual speakers who are each and all responsible for what is happening. What is true of the individuals will be true also for the community as a whole, for this consists of a number of individuals.

§ 61. We can, then, begin by considering the behaviour of the individual as a speaker, that is, as a channel and transmitter of language. Why should he change his speech? Having learnt to speak, as his fathers have taught him, why should he not preserve his language unaltered and hand it on in his turn, unaltered, to the younger generations?

§ 62. The answer to this may be briefly summarized by saying that language is the expression of the thoughts and emotions of the human mind, by means of sounds, produced by certain movements of human bodily organs—the organs of

speech.

This being so, there is a prima facie probability that language will not remain unchanged as it passes from generation to generation, for it is clear that the thoughts and feelings of humanity, even of such a portion of it as we call a single race, tribe, nation, are not at all times the same, but are capable of enrichment, expansion, and modification in a hundred ways, with the advance of civilization or the fortunes of its history. More than this, what can be more subject to alteration than the way in which a series of bodily movements are performed by human beings? If we remember that a slight change in

the way of moving the organs of speech may cause a very considerable alteration in the sound which results, it does not surprise us that pronunciation should change.

§ 63. Now the individual, having acquired the sounds of his mother tongue, having, that is to say, mastered the various series of movements of the vocal organs necessary to the production of the different sounds, does not carry out these movements always in precisely the same way. He varies slightly, sometimes in one direction, sometimes in another. According to his personal habits he will tend to vary more commonly in one particular way, and thus he forms a new habit. From this new habit of using his organs of speech, the individual necessarily produces a slightly different sound from that with which he started. It must be noted that both the new way of using the speech organs, and the sound which results from this, deviate so slightly from the old that the speaker is quite unaware of the fact that anything is being changed. If he were by chance to diverge to an appreciable and recognizable extent from the pictures of sound and movement which exist in his mind he would at once feel that he had made a 'slip of the tongue', for his muscular sensations and his ear would tell him that he was 'wrong', and he would 'correct' himself. Thus no new habit could be started by a sudden, considerable, and appreciable divergence from the sound at which the speaker is unconsciously aiming. New departures in pronunciation, therefore, are necessarily unconscious, and sound change is gradual.

The tendency to variation is continuous, so that when the individual has formed a new habit he does not stick to it, but proceeds to diverge again from this fresh starting-point.

his companion speakers, of all the members of the community. They all tend to change their pronunciation, and they agree, on the whole, in the particular direction in which their tendency runs. This agreement in the direction of change is brought about by social intercourse, whereby speakers tend to assimilate their speech to that of the other persons among whom they live and with whom they consort most frequently and intimately. The closer the bond of union between the members of a group of speakers, the more closely the speech of all will agree. But no two individuals, however much they may resemble each other, are precisely alike in all respects. It is therefore inconceivable that all the members of a large

community should agree exactly in their tendencies. We have to distinguish (a) tendencies which are shared by the whole community, and (b) tendencies which are not common to the whole but belong only to a comparatively few individuals. The groups of tendencies which come under (b) are got rid of and eliminated by the wear and tear of social intercourse, while the groups (a) pervade the whole community and become the universal tendency of the community. Thus it is possible to state as a general principle, that at a given time, in a particular community, a given sound will tend to be pronounced in the same way, and also, what is pretty much the same thing, will tend to change in the same direction. This remains true of all the words in which the sound occurs under the same conditions.

§ 65. The last expression needs some explanation. We distinguish two kinds of sound change, Isolative and Combinative. By Isolative sound change is meant change which occurs in a sound without any influence being exerted upon it by other sounds in the word or sentence. By Combinative sound change is meant a change in pronunciation brought about by the influence of other sounds in the same word or sentence. Thus the change of Primitive O.E. \bar{x} to \bar{e} in the Anglian and Kentish Dialects is an Isolative change. Whenever this sound \bar{x} occurs it is raised to \bar{e} : $w\bar{x}ron$ becomes $w\bar{e}ron$, $r\bar{x}d$ becomes red, scap becomes scep, and so on. On the other hand, the change of original c [k] to c [t] in O.E. is purely a Combinative change, since it only occurs before Primitive O.E. front vowels, or, when final, after front vowels: ceas' chose', earlier *kæus; cin 'chin', earlier *kin; cetel 'kettle', earlier *kætil; and so on.

Thus we must qualify the statement that the same sound always changes in the same way, by the addition of the words -under the same conditions. It sometimes happens that it takes a long time to discover the precise conditions which determine a sound change. Thus it took forty years after Grimm had formulated his Law of the changes of Indo-Germanic p, t, k in Germanic, before the conditions were discovered which determined the changes, apparently exceptional, of these sounds which appeared in certain words. Then, in 1877, Verner was able to supplement the original statement by supplying the conditions under which, instead of appearing in the Germanic Languages as the corresponding Voiceless Open consonants, the above sounds were voiced. This time it turned out that the 'exceptional' voicing which

had puzzled Grimm, his contemporaries, and immediate successors, was due to the place of the Accent. (See § 346.)

We proceed, then, with our investigations into the history of a language on the assumption of the principle that Sound Laws admit of no exceptions, subject to the limitations of time,

dialect, and phonetic conditions just referred to.

If apparent exceptions appear, they may be capable of explanation: (a) by the discovery of the Combinative Factors at work; (b) by the 'exceptional' form being borrowed from another dialect where the sound changes followed different lines; (c) by the principle of Analogy, which will be discussed later on.

66. The Rise of Dialects.

We have so far considered sound change only as occurring regularly and uniformly throughout a single speech community. Outside the narrow limits of our community the same original sound may be treated in very different ways. This brings us to the question of the rise of Dialects, or varieties of speech, from what was once a uniform, homogeneous language.

The very conception of a Family of Languages, with a common ancestor, from which all the related languages have sprung, implies this Differentiation of Dialect, as we call it.

The existence of differences in speech, whether in modern England or ancient Germany, means that we have not a single community but many, not one Dialect but many.

§ 67. If we define Speech Community as a group of human beings between whom social intercourse is so intimate that their speech is practically homogeneous, then whenever we find appreciable speech differences we must assume as many communities, and it will follow that there will be as many Dialects as communities. Thus, any factors that split up one community into two or more are also factors of differentiation of dialect. The main factors which divide one group of human beings from another are: (1) Geographical and Physical-seas, rivers, mountain ranges, distance, any features of the country which actually separate communities by interposing barriers between them; (2) Occupational-differences of employment, which lead, in modern society, to distinctions of Class; (3) Political, or divisions which depend not on physical boundaries but on arbitrary lines of demarcation, drawn for purposes of government-e.g. county, or even parish boundaries, or frontiers between countries.

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The ideal condition of a community with a ring-fence round it, shutting it off from all other communities and their influence. is only realizable in districts remote from large centres of population, and where high mountains, deep valleys, broad rivers, moors, or deserts form natural means of isolation. Similarly, a community in the ideal sense, one in which there are no factors that divide the people up into more or less distinct groups, so that every individual has free and frequent social intercourse with every other, is hardly a conceivable phenomenon except under the most primitive conditions and when the population is small.

- & 68. What result does the division of one community into several exert upon the language? Why should it give rise to dialectal variety? Because when one part of a community is isolated from the rest, the balance of tendencies and of checks is altered. Individual tendencies, which under the old conditions were shared only by a small minority and therefore eliminated, exist in a different proportion under the new conditions, and survive unchecked by social intercourse as it In a word, different tendencies to variation now exists. flourish in the various parts of what was originally a single, undivided community. The result is that the speech changes in different directions, and on different lines, in each of the newly formed communities. Such is the beginning of Dialectal divergence, which if it continues for a long period of time produces differences of the kind and extent that we can witness in comparing the various Germanic languages with each other, and further, the far greater distinctions that are seen in comparing Germanic speech with Italic, or Celtic, and so on.
- § 69. The difference between a Dialect and a Language is one of degree and not of kind. If one form of speech is a mere variant of another, and shows but a slight divergence from it, one which only affects certain features, and these, perhaps, to a comparatively slight extent, so that the speakers of the two varieties are mutually intelligible, we should apply to such differences the term Dialect. When, however, the differences become so considerable, after a long independent development, that one set of speakers must acquire deliberately the mode of speech of the other before communication between them is possible, then we should say that here we have two separate languages. But even this terminology is rather popular than scientific, and philologists often employ the word Dialect where in popular phraseology Language would be used.

§ 70. Analogy.

By the side of sound change the other great factor in the development of language is Analogy. This principle has long been recognized among students of language, but a distinction was formerly made by Grammarians between 'true' and 'false' Analogy. The former was supposed to be a legitimate and natural process, the latter a corrupt and erroneous one. This distinction can no longer be maintained, and whatever the results may be, whether conservative and in accordance with past habits in the language, or whether, on the other hand, they lead to new departures, and, historically speaking, 'incorrect' forms, the process of Analogy is now recognized as being a perfectly natural one, of the same essential nature in all cases, and one which at every period of every language is necessarily in operation.

Briefly, analogy is the process whereby, in the first instance, words are associated in the mind in groups, whether it be according to meaning, grammatical function, resemblance of sound, to a combination of two of these, or even of all three. When once words have become associated together in the mind there is a tendency to connect them still more intimately and

treat them as far as possible in the same way.

It is by virtue of the process of Analogy that we are able to conjugate the verbs, decline the nouns, form adverbs from adjectives, and so on, in any language which we know. As a rule, especially if the language be our native tongue, we arrive at the same results as the majority of speakers of our age and class. This means that, on the whole, our associationgroups are the same as theirs. Thus we associate the Pl. of cat with thousands of other Pls. and unhesitatingly form [kæts] from the Sing. [kæt]; we do not find any difficulty in forming the adverb cunningly, etc., from cunning, etc., even if it should happen that we do not remember to have heard the particular adverb before. We have plenty of analogous forms to serve as a pattern. Similarly, we should not hesitate to form the Pret. jeered [džiod] from the Vb. jeer, on the analogy of cleared, etc. All these happen to be in accordance with the habits of Standard English at the present time, and therefore the results are what the older school would call 'true' Analogy. But supposing that on the Analogy of to clear, to fear, to jeer, we formed the Pret. of to hear 'heared' [hiad]. This would be a perfectly natural process, and, indeed, identical with that whereby in the other cases we had arrived at 'correct' results, but the form in this case would not be in accordance with the habits of educated speech. It so happens that in Standard English hear, as regards its Pret., is an isolated word which has to be learnt specially. If we have never noticed the form [had] and do not know it, we cannot invent it; the ordinary Analogies do not work here. The old school would call this 'false' Analogy. It is as if in German, on the Analogy of tragen, Pret. trug [trux], we made a Pret. sug [sux] for sagen. As a matter of fact, the Pret. frug instead of fragte from fragen is often used, and it is clearly due to 'false' Analogy. It would be perfectly natural to use sug if we use frug, especially as sagen and fragen are associated in meaning as well as by sound. That this kind of thing continually happens in the history of a language, no one who has studied the subject doubts, and such 'false' Analogies constantly become the received and 'correct' forms.

This simply means that from age to age the associationgroups of a community change their content. As it is, we find at the present day different association-groups among persons of different education and social class. This is well illustrated if we compare the standard language with the various popular

dialects.

It often happens that in the declension of a noun, or the conjugation of a verbal tense, two quite distinct types or forms of the base or root arise, and that in the course of time the difference between the two forms becomes extreme, so that it is difficult to associate them together as merely Sing. and Pl. of the same noun or whatever it may be. Thus the O.E. Sing. type of dæg 'day' in M.E. is dei, or dai, whereas the Pl., which in O.E. is dagas, daga, dagum, becomes in M.E. dawes, etc. In Present-day English this difference would result in Sing. [der], Pl. [doz]. As a matter of fact, already in M.E. one or other type is usually eliminated in such a case as this, and the dialect settles down either upon the day-type, or the daw-type, and uses this for both numbers. No doubt, had there been a fair number of common words, sufficient to form an association-group of -ei or -ai as a Sing. form, and -aw as a Pl. form, the distinction might have been preserved longer, but as it is there was nothing to support a vowel change of this nature, combined with the addition of the Pl. suffix, so the Pl. type of the root disappeared. Those words which we call mutation-plurals-teeth, geese, men, etc., had in O.E. the mutated vowel in the Dat. Sing. as well as in the Nom. and Acc. Pl., whereas the un-mutated vowel occurred also in the Gen. and Dat. Pl. What happened was that in those few words which preserved mutation, the whole Sing. was formed on the type of the Nom. and Acc. Sing. without mutation, and the whole Pl. on the type of the Nom. and Acc. Pl. with mutation. The case-sense, as we may call it, did not survive long in M.E. and, apart from the Possessive or Gen. case, a word was felt merely to be in the Nom. or case of the Subject, or else in the Acc. or case of the Object—the Dat. case relation being no longer felt.

Enough has been said to enable the student to understand what is meant by Analogy, and to guard him against surprise when he finds the far-reaching effects of the process in making

new departures from the historically 'correct' usage.

§ 71. Foreign Contact.

When two communities, speaking different languages, or even different forms or dialects of the same language, come into close social contact, it generally happens that the speech

of each is influenced by the other.

If the members of the two communities become so intimately intermingled that they intermarry, and gradually fuse into a single community, there is generally a period of bilingualism, during which all members of the community speak both tongues.

Then one or other of the two languages gradually ceases to

be spoken and the other survives as the sole language.

Such conditions as these inevitably result in modification of the pronunciation of one or both languages, and in mutual exchanges in vocabulary. This actual physical contact between two groups of speakers brings about what we call *Direct*

influence of one language upon the other.

The result of this intimate association upon pronunciation is that one language is spoken with a 'foreign accent', so that many or all the characteristic sounds of a language are given up in favour of those in the other which most closely resemble them. In many districts of Wales, where English has been spoken for generations alongside of Welsh, the English pronunciation is as foreign as that of a German or a Frenchman, and although there is extraordinary fluency and volubility, and even considerable 'correctness' in Grammar and Syntax, the sentence stress, the intonation, and all the sounds are purely Welsh and un-English.

Some such fate as this probably overtook Norman French

as spoken in this country, some time before it died out.

The effect of bilingualism upon vocabulary is that speakers to whom two languages are equally familiar frequently introduce

words from one language into their discourse when they are

speaking the other.

The first words thus introduced will naturally be such as denote objects or ideas which are new to the people into whose language they are introduced, for which therefore there are no corresponding terms. But the process is soon extended to words for which native terms do exist. Thus the familiar words skin, sky, they, their were introduced from Scandinavian into English, as it might be said, without any adequate reason. Again, if the two languages thus brought into contact are closely related to start with, many words, though differing slightly in form in each tongue, are perfectly intelligible to all, in either form. This was the case for Old English and Old Norse, and there is no doubt that English speakers often used the English and Norse forms indiscriminately. This fact probably accounts for our present forms give and get, to mention no more, which certainly cannot be derived from the original pure English forms.

When at last one language dies out, and the other becomes the only form of speech, the survivor will have acquired, in the way just described, a more or less considerable number of loanwords from the language which has perished, and many of these will remain as permanent elements, used, sometimes instead of native words which they have ousted, sometimes by the side of these, to express an identical object or idea, or

with a slight differentiation of meaning.

Words borrowed in this direct way usually have the nearest approximate pronunciation to the original which the borrowers can manage. The subsequent history of the pronunciation of these words is identical with that which the sounds which they contain undergo in native words in the language into which they have passed.

- § 72. The chief foreign linguistic influences which have been exerted directly upon English are those of the language of the Scandinavian invaders and settlers of England, and of Norman French. We must, however, include the early Latin loanwords acquired in Britain from Celtic speakers of Latin, and a great deal of the Latin which came in through the influence of the early Church, for many Latin terms used in connexion with religion, and learnt directly from public services, became familiar household words.
- § 73. By Indirect influence, we mean that exerted through literature. Words from ancient and modern languages are acquired by English writers from the authors they study, and

are introduced by them into their own writings. Many of these remain purely literary words, or never gain currency at all; others pass from literature into everyday speech. Modern scientific conceptions, new substances, and processes the result of scientific investigation, are commonly designated by Greek

terms, often taken straight out of the dictionary.

The distinction between popular and learned words is an important one, though not always easy to draw. The character of a word from this point of view depends not upon its origin, but its usage. Phonograph is made up of two Greek words, and is therefore of learned origin, but with the spread of the machine among the people, the name has passed into popular usage. On the other hand, such words as eftsoons, welkin, whilom, and many more of the same kind, are pure English in origin, yet are in no sense popular, but rather, so far as they can be said to exist at all, at the present day, belong exclusively to learned, or literary language.

§ 74. We must not omit to mention the influence of one dialect, or variety, of the same language upon another. has been of great importance in the history of English. existence of various dialectal elements in Standard English has been determined by political, economic, and social causes. These may take the shape of spreading a particular sound change far beyond its original regional limits, or they may produce the wholesale importation of a particular dialectal type of certain words into a Regional or Class Dialect to which

this was formerly quite alien.

The most typical features of dialect, it should be remembered, are pronunciation and grammatical forms. It is a far more difficult thing to localize vocabulary, and track it down to its original source. Most Standard English speakers use a certain number of 'Dialect' words, sometimes deliberately, knowing them to be such, sometimes without realizing the fact. This is particularly the case with terms relating to agriculture and sport. No Standard English speaker, except as a joke, would say, 'us kep on tellin' he not to hurt un' [as kep on telin i not tu A't ən], or talk about [rain, bail, bas, ük, kum, ī] for [rein, boil, bus, huk, kam, hī] rain, boil, bush, hook, come, he. On the other hand, any one who turns over the pages of a Dialect Dictionary cannot fail to come across dozens of words with which he has been familiar all his life. This means, either that the reader is a 'Dialect speaker' without knowing it, or that the dictionary-maker has been unable to distinguish between 'Dialect' and Standard English.

CHAPTER V

HISTORY OF ENGLISH SOUNDS

I. THE OLD ENGLISH PERIOD

§ 75. Sources of our Knowledge of O.E.

FROM the point of view of the student of English Literature or Culture, everything which survives in the documents of the O.E. period is of more or less interest. In particular, the more imaginative poetical literature would claim our attention from these points of view; the philosophical and religious treatises which exist in the form of Homilies; the Laws, and the books on Medicine and on the use of herbs, and charms,—all have their claims on our consideration for various reasons. Again, the Lexicographer, and the student of O.E. as a mode of expression, would cast their net as widely as possible, and, to them, the precise dialect in which the literature was written

would not be of prime concern.

In the present instance, however, our aim is to get a clear idea of the phonological peculiarities of each of the O.E. dialects, and for this purpose we must base our investigation upon those texts whose place or area of origin is pretty definitely known. Our list of sources, then, is a comparatively narrow one, and we are guided in our selection of the texts, not by their literary merits, but simply by their fitness to illustrate, in a reliable manner, particular dialects at a particular time. Apart from the texts mentioned below as definitely belonging to other dialects, most of the important O.E. documents which survive are written in a form in which the W.S. elements greatly predominate, but they often show a mixture of dialectal elements from other sources. This, as in the case of the poetry, is generally the result of the texts having been done into W. Saxon from another dialect, in which process some of the original features have been allowed to remain unaltered. Poetical texts not infrequently bear traces of having passed through several dialects, all of which have left their mark, as in Beowulf, in the form we possess.

Pure examples of the various dialectal types are found in

the following works:

§ 76.

A. Northumbrian.

I. Earliest Texts.

Fragments (poetical) in Sweet's Oldest English Texts (O.E.T.), pp. 149, etc. circa 737.

Liber Vitæ (Personal Names), O.E.T., pp. 153, etc.

Northern Area.

Genealogies. O.E.T., p. 167, etc.

Place and Personal Names in Moore MS. of Bede's

Eccl. Hist., O.E.T., p. 131, etc. circa 737.

Ruthwell Cross Inscription, O.E.T., pp. 125, 126.

[There are no ninth-century Northumbrian Texts.]

2. Late Texts.

Northern Area.

Durham Ritual: Surtees Soc., vol. iv, 1849 (collated by Skeat, Trans. Phil. Soc., 1879).

Durham Book, also called Lindisfarne Gospels. Ed. Skeat, Gospels in Anglo-Saxon, 1871-1887.

Southern Area.

Interlinear version of the Gospels of SS. Mark, Luke, John, in Rushworth MS., known as Rushworth². Ed. Skeat in Gospels cited above.

\$ 77-

B. Mercian.

I. Earliest Texts.

Epinal Glossary (circa 700) Both in O.E.T., pp. 36-107. Corpus Glossary (circa 750) Eighth-Century Charters [in Latin; containing O.E. words and names], O.E.T., pp. 429, etc.

4. Ninth-Century Texts.

Vespasian Psalter and Hymns, O.E.T., pp. 183, etc.

3. Late Texts.

Interlinear Gloss to St. Matthew (Rushworth, second half of tenth century), Skeat's Gospels in Anglo-Saxon.

Royal Glosses (fr. MS. Royal 2 A. 20). Ed. Zupitza, in Zeitschr. f. d. A., Bd. xxxiii, pp. 47, etc. circa 1000.

C. West Saxon. 8 78.

Earliest Texts.

Charters: 1. (692 or 693); 2. (693-731); 3. (778). O.E.T., pp. 426-427.

Ninth-Century Texts.

(Cura Pastoralis, Sweet, E.E.T.S., Works of King Alfred :-1871. Orosius, Sweet, E.E.T.S., 1880.

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: Parker MS. to 891, Plummer, Oxford. 2 vols. 1892-1900.

Late Texts.

Ælfric's Grammar and Glossary (circa 1000). Ed. Zupitza, 1880.

Ælfric's Homilies. Editions by Thorpe, and Skeat. West Saxon Gospels (in C.C.C.C. MS.). Ed. Skeat, Gospels in Anglo-Saxon.

D. Saxon Patois.

Late O.E.

Blickling Homilies (dated 979). Ed. Morris, E.E.T.S., 188o.

Harleian Gloss (MS. Harl. 3376), printed in Wright-Wülker's Glossaries, vol. i. 192, etc.

§ 79.

E. Kentish Texts.

Earliest Texts.

Charters (seventh and eighth centuries), O.E.T., pp. 427, etc.

Ninth Century.

Charters, in O.E.T., pp. 441, etc.; three of these also in Sweet's A.-S. Reader, pp. 189, etc.

Bede Glosses (MS. Cotton C. II, circa 900), O.E.T., pp. 179, etc.

Late Texts.

Kentish Glosses, Zupitza, in Zeitschr. f. d. A., xxi, pp. 1, etc., and xxii, pp. 223, etc.; also in Wright-Wülker's Vocabularies, 55, etc.

Kentish Hymn, in Kluge's Ags. Lesebuch, and Sweet's

A .- S. Reader.

Kentish Psalm (Ps. 1), in Kluge's Lesebuch.

& 80. Mode of Writing Old English.

The English, like all the Germanic tribes of Germany and Scandinavia, used at a very early period certain angular letters, which they graved upon horn, stone, wood, or metal. These letters, known as Runes, were chiefly used in charms, and inscriptions commemorating the dead or the illustrious upon monuments. Some of these inscriptions still exist in England and upon the Continent, but they are, for the most part, of no very great antiquity, not older indeed than the earliest manuscripts.

The ordinary mode of writing, which the English acquired after embracing Christianity, was a form of the Latin alphabet, which had come through an Irish source. Modern Irish is still written and printed in characters which closely resemble

those of the O.E. MSS.

In writing and printing O.E. at the present day we use the ordinary alphabet; except that we borrow the signs æ, þ, and ð. The first had the value of the low-front-slack vowel, which we also denote in this way in phonetic transcription; the two others appear to have been used indifferently for the pointteeth-open, whether Voiced, or Unvoiced. Some editors also print p for w, and 5 or 3 for g, but this habit is very largely discarded now. P and b were taken over from the Runic alphabet.

NOTE. The names and forms of the various O.E. Runes are recorded in the Runic Poem, the text of which is given in Bibl. d. ags. Poesie (vol. containing Beowulf, etc.), 1883, p. 331, the text also by Bodkine, with a French translation, La Chanson des Runes, Havre, 1879. B. does not give the runes themselves. A table of all the known Germanic Runes, and an account of these, is given by Sievers in the section Schriftkunde in Paul's Grundriss. See also Bibliography above, B. vi.

& 81. Pronunciation of O.E.

So far as we can discover, the following were the O.E. sounds:

Rounded.

SIMPLE VOWELS.

	Un-Rounde	d	Rounded.			
High	Front.	Back.	Front. H. y, y	Back. u, ü		
Mid	e, ē	a, ā	M. œ, æ	o, ō		
Low	æ, æ		L.			

§ 82.

DIPHTHONGS.									
eo, eo	ea, ēā	ie, īē							

The diphthongs were pronounced pretty much as written; it should be noted, however, that whereas in Eo, to, the first element was probably tense, and definitely mid, and high respectively, in ea the first element was probably slack, and low. To occurs only in W. Saxon, and at an early period was apparently levelled under # in pronunciation, in part of the Saxon area. Elsewhere, in Late W.S. 7 was monophthongized and rounded to [y].

There were, in O.E., probably, both varieties of diphthongs

-falling, and rising diphthongs, e.g. eo, eb, etc.

In the latter, the first element was, originally, merely a glidesound. This class of diphthongs is of later development than the other diphthongs which were developed in O.E. itself.

§ 83. Examples of the occurrence of O.E. Vowels.

3 00	January Co. Cart Co.	
O.E. Symbol.	Analysis of Sound.	O.E. Words.
a,	mid-back, as in Germ.	assa 'ass', dagas 'days', faran 'to
ā	mid-back long, as in Germ. Wahn.	go'. hām 'home', stān 'stone', hlāf 'loaf'.
e	mid-front, as in Fr.	beran 'to bear', (ge)seten 'set' (p.p.), helan 'hide'.
e	mid-front, as in Engl.	menn 'men', secgan 'to say', sendan
ē	mid-front long, as Germ. lehnen.	fēdan 'to feed', gēs 'geese', mēlan 'to meet', hēr 'here', wē 'we'.
i	high-front, as in Germ.	sittan 'to sit', scip 'ship'.
ĭ	ibid. long, as in Germ.	sīh 'journey, time', wrītan 'to write'.
æ	low-front, as in Engl.	sæd 'sated, weary', cræft 'skill,
æ	ibid. long.	sæd 'seed', grædig 'greedy'.
0	mid-back round, as in Germ. Stock.	hopu 'hope', horn 'horn', brocen 'broken'.
ō	mid-back-tense-round, as in Germ, Hohn.	bôt 'help, remedy', bôc 'book, charter', blôd 'blood'.
u	high-back-round, as in Engl. put.	sunu 'son', full 'full'.
ū́	high-back-tense-round, Germ. Stube.	has 'house', ran 'whisper, mystery'.
у	high-front-round, Germ.	cynn 'race', byċġan 'to buy', wyrm 'worm'.
ÿ	ibid. long, French	fylan 'defile', bryd 'bride', hyp 'landing-place, harbour' (hithe).

§ 84. Diphthongs.

O.E. Symbol.	O.E. Words.
ea	teaf 'chaff', hleahtor 'laughter'. teas 'chose', read 'red', leas 'false'.
ea	ceas chose, year led, teas laise.
eo	eorbe 'earth', heofon 'heaven', feohian 'to fight'.
eo	ceosan 'to choose', hleopor 'sound, melody'.
ie	hierde 'shepherd', Scieppend' Creator'.
īē	hieran 'to hear', ciesp 'he chooses'.

§ 85. The O.E. Consonants.

	Back.		Front.		Blade.		BldePnt.		Point.		Lip.	
	v.	В.	V.	В.	v.	B.	V.	В.	V.	B.	V.	В.
Open	g	h	ģ	ħ	S	S		sċ	გ, þ	გ, þ	ъ	
Stop	g	С	ċġ	ċ					d	t	b	p
Nasal	ng		_						n	hn	m	
Divided									1	hl		
Trill									r	hr		

	Lip-l	Back.	Lip-7	reeth. B.
Open.	w	hw	f	f

NOTE. The symbols used in this table are not 'phonetic symbols' in the strict sense, but are those usually employed in writing and printing O.E. As they are fairly consistently employed to express the same sounds, they are, in a sense, 'phonetic'. The exceptions will be discussed directly.

§ 86. The chief inconsistencies in the use of O.E. graphic symbols are found in that of g and c. The former is used to express both a Front and a Back Open consonant, and, probably by the tenth century, also a Back Stop. The combination cg nearly always expresses a Front Stop. g and cg nearly always express Voiced sounds.

g, no matter what its origin, when it occurs initially, in a word or syllable, before front vowels was the symbol of a front-open-voiced consonant [j]—gear, giefan, heriges, etc. In grammatical works it is usually printed g, to distinguish it from the back consonant. Initially, before back vowels, and medially, in the same circumstances, it was in the earliest O.E., unquestionably, a back-open-voiced consonant (3).



In this position, however, it probably became the present stop sound during the O.E. period, though it is impossible to say precisely when. Most authorities agree that, at any rate by the year 1000, gōd 'good', gān' to go', etc., were pronounced with a back stop. In the middle of words, between original back vowels, the sound certainly remained an open consonant during the whole O.E. period. Thus āgan 'own', folgian (from *fulgōjan) 'follow', sagu 'saw, saying', etc., must always be pronounced with a back-open-voiced consonant. Any other pronunciation is ridiculous in the light of the subsequent history of the sound in words. A back-stop-voiced was very rare, and was probably a late development, medially, in O.E., as it certainly was initially. The medial consonant in frocga 'frog' is probably an example of this sound.

§ 87. There is the same ambiguity in the use of the symbol c in O.E. It expresses, always indeed, a voiceless stop sound, but sometimes a back, and sometimes a front voiceless stop. Before original back vowels c stands for [k], as in cot 'dwelling', catt 'cat', col' cool', etc. In the later MSS. k is sometimes written for this sound, but it is never consistently

used, and c is by far the more usual symbol.

Before original O.E. front vowels, c, written c and c in grammatical works, is to be pronounced as a front stop—ciele 'chill', cild 'child', ceaf 'chaff'. The same rule applies when c occurs medially before -i—rīce 'kingdom', from *rīki. Finally, after front vowels c was also a front consonant—līc 'form, body', pæc 'roof'. The reason for the fronted c in sēcan, pencan will appear in the discussion of the principal O.E. sound changes (§ 104).

O.E. se was probably [st], that is, s followed by a voiceless front stop. It may have become [s] before the end of the

O.E. period.

- § 88. s and f were pronounced as voiceless consonants [s, f] when final: was 'was', \(\overline{x}s \) 'food, meat', \(h \overline{laf} \) 'loaf', etc.; initially, in the W. Saxon dialect, they were apparently voiced before vowels, as in Somersetshire and the South-West dialects at the present day (s was perhaps voiced initially in Kentish also): \(singan \) 'sing', \(fat \) 'vessel, vat', etc.; medially, between vowels they were always voiced: \(lufu \) 'love', \(r\overline{s}san \) 'rise', etc., except when s was doubled as in \(cyssan \) 'kiss', etc.
- § 89. b was originally a pure lip-open-voiced consonant [b]. In early MSS, it is often written instead of the later f, between vowels—hebuc later hafoc, heafoc 'hawk'. Initially, it was

probably pronounced as a stop in the historical period. The lip-stop-voice does not occur medially in O.E. except when doubled—hebban 'lift up', etc. [For the origin of this doubling cf. § 93.]

- § 90. h, originally a back-open-voiceless consonant $[\chi]$, was fronted later before and after front vowels, gesiht 'sight', etc. Initially before vowels h was apparently a mere aspirate as at the present day, in the historical period. Medially, and finally before and after back vowels, h retained the pronunciation $[\chi]$.
- § 91. The combinations, hl, hn, hr, hw, should probably be pronounced with voiceless l, n, r, and w respectively: hleahtor 'laughter'; $hn\overline{x}gan$ 'neigh'; hring 'ring'; hwxt 'what', etc.
- § 92. \eth and \rlap/p are used for the *point-teeth-open*, both *voice* and *breath*, indiscriminately. Initially and finally the sound was probably voiceless everywhere at first; medially between vowels \rlap/p and \rlap/d were voiced, and should be so pronounced.
- § 93. Doubled consonants should be pronounced long, with a fresh impulse in the middle of the sound. The chief sources of double consonants in O.E. are: (a) lengthening before -j-, e.g. sittan, earlier *sittjan, from *setjan; sibb 'relationship' from *sibjö; reccan from *rakjan 'narrate', etc., etc. After a long vowel or a diphthong the double consonant is simplified, e.g. txcan 'teach' from *tākjan, W. Gmc. *taikjan, earlier *taikkjan. (b) The combination -ln- becomes -ll- in Gmc., e.g. Idg. *plno-, Gmc. full-, O.E. full; O.E. wulle 'wool', earlier *wulnā; cp. Lat. lāna from *wulana.

NOTE. As the always mark the vowel quantities, and indicate whether c and g are fronted or not, the spelling of O.E. as it occurs in books for students is practically a phonetic transcription, apart from the slight inconsistencies just noted. It is not usually necessary to mark the fronted form of k, k = [i].

§ 94. Accentuation or Stress.

In O.E. as in other Germanic languages, the principal stress fell on the first, or 'root'-syllable of the word—gôda 'good', heofon 'heaven', ternende 'running'.

Prefixes, such as bi-, on-, ge-, are always unstressed.

§ 95. Plan of Treatment.

It may make the following account of the history of the O.E. vowels clearer, if we give at once some hint of the plan and arrangement of the subject which is here attempted.

It may be well to point out that in tracing the development of the W. Gmc. vowels in O.E. we are dealing with changes which for the most part took place in this country, and therefore, although many of them occurred in the period before written documents, they are, in fact, a part of the 'History of English'. Some knowledge of the origin of the O.E. sounds is necessary to the proper understanding of their subsequent development. The subject is divided as follows:

- (1) We first give an account of the principal sound changes, both *Isolative* and *Combinative*, which affected *all* the O.E. dialects.
- (2) We then pass to changes which are specifically W. Saxon to the exclusion of other dialects.
 - (3) Peculiarities common to all dialects except W. Saxon.
- (4) Features shared by the Anglian Dialects, but not by W. Saxon or Kentish.
 - (5) Features peculiar (a) to Mercian, (b) to Northumbrian.
 - (6) Kentish characteristics.
- (7) Summary of points of agreement and disagreement between the various dialects.

§ 96. The O.E. Vowel Sounds compared with those of West Germanic.

By comparing the forms of words in the other W. Gmc. languages and in Gothic, we arrive at a view as to the original nature of Primitive O.E. sounds. The sounds, especially the vowels of the earliest historical period, are then seen to have undergone very considerable changes, both *Isolative* and *Combinative* (§ 65).

§ 97. Isolative Vowel Changes. Changes common to all Dialects of O.E.

(1) W. Gmc. a becomes O.E. α : $d\alpha \dot{g}$ 'day.', O.H.G. tag; $f\alpha der$ 'father', O.H.G. fatar, O.Sax. fadar; $w\alpha \dot{g}n$ 'wagon', O.H.G. wagan.

NOTE I. For subsequent treatment of ž in Kt. and Mercian see §§ 129, 137. In W.S. z is written throughout the O.E. period, but the fact that the symbol z is used very frequently in Ælfric to express the ĕ-sound rather points to the raising of z to ĕ in L.W.S.

NOTE 2. For retention of W.Gmc. a in O.E. before a back vowel in

following syllable, see § 107, Note.

(2) W. Gmc. ā becomes O.E. \bar{x} : $sl\bar{x}pan$ 'sleep', O. Sax. $sl\bar{a}pan$, O.H.G. $sl\bar{a}fan$.

(3) W. Gmc. au becomes in O.E. *xu, *xo, *xa, ēa: ēage 'eye', O.H.G. ouga, Goth. augō; ēare 'ear', Goth. ausō.

NOTE. This ea was monophthongized to se in late O.E. Cp. for instance the occasional spellings: ded 'death', gelecta 'faith', sediga 'blessed', for dead, gelecta, eadig.

- (4) W. Gmc. ai becomes O.E. a: hāl 'whole' (adj.), Goth. haīls, O.H.G. heil; āp 'oath', Goth. aips, O.H.G. eid.
- (5) W. Gmc. eu becomes O.E. eo: peod 'nation, people', Goth. piuda, O.Sax. thioda.

Combinative Vowel Changes common to all O.E. Dialects.

- § 98. (1) W. Gmc. \tilde{a} becomes O.E. \tilde{o} . The nasalized \tilde{a} of Gmc. and W. Gmc. undergoes first a process of rounding—to \tilde{o} , and then a lengthened vowel is substituted for the short, nasalized vowel: $br\tilde{o}hte$ 'brought' from * $bray_{\chi}ta$, * $br\tilde{a}_{\chi}ta$, * $br\tilde{a}_{\chi}ta$, * $f\tilde{o}n$ 'take, seize' from * $fay_{\chi}an$, * $f\tilde{a}_{\chi}an$, * $f\tilde{o}han$, etc.
- § 99. (2) (a) W. Gmc. \bar{a} , which as stated in § 97 is fronted to \bar{x} in Pr. O.E. by an isolative change, does not undergo this fronting if followed by n or m, but is rounded, and appears in the earliest historical period as $\delta:-m\bar{o}na$ 'moon' from W. Gmc. * $m\bar{a}nan$ -, cp. O.H.G. $m\bar{a}no$, Goth. $m\bar{e}na$; $n\bar{o}mon$ Pret. Pl. of niman 'to take' from * $n\bar{a}mum$, cp. O.H.G. $n\bar{a}mum$, Goth. $n\bar{e}mum$, etc. (b) W. Gmc. \bar{a} before w, or g, followed by a back vowel, remains in O.E.:— $s\bar{a}won$, $l\bar{a}gon$, W. Gmc. * $s\bar{a}wum$, * $l\bar{a}gum$.

§ 100. (3) Pr. O.E. a becomes ō.

W. Gmc. an- (or am-), when it stood before the voiceless open consonants, s, f, h, appears in the oldest English simply as \bar{o} . The n first nasalized a to \tilde{a} , then this was rounded to \tilde{o} , and as in the preceding case, nasalization was replaced by length, giving \bar{o} : O.E. $g\bar{o}s$ 'goose' from * $g\bar{o}s$ from * $g\bar{o}s$ from * $g\bar{o}s$ from * $g\bar{o}s$ from original *tanh, cp. O.H.G. sand, O.Sax. tand; O.E. $s\bar{o}fte$ 'soft', O.H.G. samfto.

NOTE. This process, as regards the rounding, and substitution of length for nasalization, is identical with the preceding (§ 98 (1)), only whereas the nasal was lost before $[\chi]$ already in Pr. Gmc., and is thus absent in all Gmc. tongues, the loss of the consonant n, m before s, f, h is an O.E. process. It is impossible to say at what period the various languages lost the nasalization of d.

It will be seen later that n was always lost in O.E. before s, f, h, just as it is lost in Gmc. before χ . The other vowels are merely lengthened after losing their nasalization, but undergo no qualitative change comparable

to that from a- to ο, δ (§ 113).

§ 101. (4) Original an becomes on.

W. Gmc. a before nasal consonants which remain in O.E. is generally rounded to o in the period of Alfred: lond, hond, monn instead of earlier land, hand, mann. In later O.E. land, hand, etc., again predominate. In no period are either the an or on forms used with perfect consistency in any of the texts.

§ 102. (5) Fracture of Vowels before certain consonant combinations.

Fracture is the term applied to the diphthongization of front vowels before rr, and r+another consonant; ll, or l+another consonant; h, hh, or h+another consonant. Examples: Fracture of e: O.E. steorra, O.H.G. sterro; eorpe 'earth', O.H.G. erda; seolh 'seal', O.H.G. selah > *selh; feoh 'money, property', O.Sax. fehu; feohtan 'to fight', O.H.G. fehtan. Fracture of æ: earm 'poor', O.H.G. arm; eall 'all', O.H.G. all; eald 'old', O.H.G. alt; eahta 'eight', O. Sax. O.H.G. ahto. Fracture of Pr. O.E. æ: neāh from *næh, Goth. nēh.

NOTE 1. It is pretty certain that already in the late O.E. period, ea was monophthongized to z and perhaps also raised to [E]. Cp. § 97 Note, 120 Note. Such spellings as swalt for sweatt, swartum for sweartum, andwardum for andwardum, marcode for mearcode, all in Ælfric, taken in connexion with the M.E. development, seem to establish the monophthong in these cases.

Note 2. The process of 'Fracture' consists in the development of a glide sound between the front vowel and the following h, ll, rr, l, r, or h+consonant. The cause of the development of this glide, which was originally of the nature of [w] or [u], lies in the nature of the following consonant. h was a back open consonant, a sound which easily tends to be lip-modified. l when doubled, or followed by another consonant, must have been pronounced with the fore part of the tongue hollowed. This gives a dull, 'guttural' effect to the sound, as is heard in many English and Scotch dialects at the present day. r when doubled, or followed by another consonant, was probably 'inverted', i.e. uttered with the point of the tongue turned upwards and backwards, without trilling. This sound is now pronounced in many Southern English dialects. Each of these articulations involves a considerable glide, after a front vowel. A very similar effect to Fracture is heard in such Cockney pronunciations as [pain(1)], etc, for pale. Note that e undergoes no Fracture before the l-combinations, except lh, lc. The Fracture of i is indistinguishable from that of e, except in Northumbrian (§ 132).

§ 103. Mutation or 'Umlaut'.

There are two kinds of *Mutation* in O.E.: one, A. which affects back vowels, is caused by a following *i* or *j* and results in fronting of the vowel; the other, B. which affects front vowels, is caused chiefly by *u*, or *o*, in some dialects also by *a*. The result of the latter process is to develop a vowel glide [*u*], which combines with the preceding front vowel to produce a

diphthong. The former process is known as i- or j-mutation, the latter as u-mutation, or o/a-mutation, according to the

vowel which causes it.

i-mutation is by far the more universal of these two processes in O.E.; it affects all dialects, and is less liable than u-mutation to be upset by Analogy. u-mutation, or its result, on the other hand, is distributed, in different dialects, in varying degrees of frequency. W. Saxon, apart from certain conditions (see § 110), tends to eliminate the diphthongized forms due to u-mutation, in favour of those with simple vowels, which may occur in certain cases of nouns, or persons of verbs. Since i-or j-mutation is a fronting process, and u, o/a-mutation one which depends largely on the development of a back element after front vowels, we may call the former Front-Mutation, and the latter Back-Mutation.

§ 104. A. (6) i- or j-Mutation in O.E.

The law may be simply stated as follows: all original back vowels when followed in the next syllable of a word by -i- or -j-, are fronted, to the corresponding front vowels. Further O.E. x, derived by isolative change from earlier a (§ 97 (1)) under the same conditions, is raised from a low, to the mid vowel e. The process of i-, j-mutation was fully completed before the period of the earliest O.E. documents, that is, before the end of the seventh century. It may therefore have begun a century earlier. It certainly was carried out in England, because it affects loan-words which the English only learnt after their invasion of these islands.

The process of fronting the vowel was due to the front-modification of the intervening consonant by the following -i- or -j-. This front-modified sound then influenced, and fronted the preceding vowel. When the consonant was back, c, or g, it became a pure front c, g, or, if g was followed by j, cg; thus *lægiþ becomes in the first instance *lægiþ 'lays'; *sōkja 'I seek becomes *sōċi; *bruggjō 'bridge' becomes

*brucg, the phonetic values being [j, t, d].

§ 105. i- or j-mutation of \bar{o} . Primitive O.E. \bar{o} , no matter what its origin, becomes first $[\bar{o}]$, written oe, which in all dialects except W. Sax. survives nearly to the end of the O.E. period. In W.S. oe (mid-front-round) is unrounded to \bar{e} before the period of King Alfred, in whose works there are however some slight traces of the spelling oe:

bēc Dat. Sing. and Nom. and Acc. Pl. of bēc 'book', from *bōki-; sēcan 'to seek'. O. Sax. sōkian, Goth. sōkjan; cp. O.E.

Pret. sohte from *sok-da; fêdan 'to feed' from *fod-jan. cp. O.E. foda 'food'; cwen 'queen', Pr. O.E. *cwoni, W. Gmc. *kwāni, Gmc. *kwāni (cp. § 99).

§ 106. Pr. O.E. \bar{a} (earlier ai) becomes \bar{x} : $-d\bar{x}lan$ from *dāljan 'divide', cp. O.E. un-mutated dāl 'portion', O.H.G. teil, Goth. dails. O.E. dal' part' = *dali also exists, and is commoner than dal. tācan 'teach' from *tākjan, cp. Pret. tahte.

læstan 'follow, carry out' from *lāstjan, cp. O.H.G. leistan, O. Sax. lestian, Goth. laistjan. O.E. has also the un-mutated

noun läst 'track', etc.

§ 107. i., j-Mutation of O.E. a and x: Pr. O.E. a becomes æ: hæbban 'have' from *hatbjan; slægen 'slain' from *slagin.

NOTE. W. Gmc. a normally becomes a by an Isolative change in O.E. (§ 97 (1)), and on the Mutation of this see § 107 below; but a remains, or is restored, if a back vowel follows, hence dagus N. and A. Pl. of dæg, slagen, one form of P.P. of slean fr. *slagan. It happens sometimes, though comparatively rarely, that an O.E. a which had originally a back vowel after it, is preserved as such till after the isolative tendency which changed Pr. a to a has passed away. If syllables containing such a sounds receive a suffix with i or j later on, but before the period of i- or -j-Mutation, the a undergoes fronting to a. This is the case with the forms hæbban, slægen, above.

Pr. O.E. & becomes e by i- or j-mutation: settan 'to place', from *sættjan, cp. Goth. satjan; mete 'food', from *mæti, cp. Goth. mat-s, O.H.G. maz, O. Sax. meti (with mutation); here 'army' from *hæri-, O.H.G. hari, Goth. harjis; slegen, P. P. of slean, from *slægin.

§ 108. Pr. O.E. " becomes ": mys Pl. of mus 'mouse', from *mūsi; bryd 'bride', Goth. brūp-s, stem *brūpi-; cypan 'make known', Goth. kun bjan, Pr. O.E. *kupjan.

§ 109. Pr. O.E. & becomes y: fyllan 'to fill' fr. *fulljan, cp. O.E. full, Goth. and O.H.G. fulljan; pytt 'pit, hole', O.H.G. pfuzzi, Early W. Gmc. loan-word from Latin puteus, W. Gmc. form *puttja, Pr. O.E. *putti.

NOTE. An original Gmc. & became o in W. Gmc. if o, a, or & followed in the next syllable, but remained when followed by -i- or -j-. There are many 'roots' which occur both with δ or α suffixes, and also with suffixes containing -i- or -j-. In the former case we get o in the 'root' in O.E., in the latter \(\vec{u}\). This \(u\), later on, when the i-mutation period arrived, became \(\vec{y}\). Thus—gold 'gold' from *gulda-, but gylden 'golden' from *guldin-; god 'god' from *gulda-, but gylden 'golden' from *guldin-; fox from *fuhsa, but fyxen 'vixen' from *fuhsin-. In these and similar cases, \(y\) is therefore the mutation of \(\vec{u}\) and not of \(\vec{o}\). Normally, δ cannot occur before -i- or -j-, (a) because δ in native words is not an original sound, but was developed in W. Gmc. out of \tilde{u} , under the conditions just mentioned, and (b) because in those early loan-words where it occurred, it became u before -i- or -j-.

Thus if the sequence δ with -i- or -j- in the next syllable passed into W. Gmc. from Latin, as it sometimes did, o normally became u, and this naturally was mutated to \tilde{y} later on, e.g. Latin monēta became *monīt-, whence *munit, whence

O.E. mynet 'coin'.

Therefore & as the mutation of & is very rare, and when it is found, needs special explanation. For instance, oxa 'ox' has a Pl. exen, exen by the side of commoner oxan. Original *uhsa- normally becomes oxa in O.E. If a form like *uhsin-existed it would naturally become *yxen, so that exen can only be explained by assuming that just before the period of mutation, but after the period at which & followed by -i-became \(\vec{u}\), a new formation *\vec{v}hsin-\) was made, on the analogy of *ohsa; this new form *ohsin-\) then became exen, exen in the mutation period. A similar explanation must be sought for ele 'oil' from Latin oleum, W. Gmc. *olja, *ulja, and for the Dat. Sing. dehter of dohter 'daughter'.

NOTE. In pencan, sendan, blendan, ende, etc., the e probably does not represent the mutation of Pr. O.E. o from a before a nasal (§ 101)—*pankjan<*ponkjan, *ondi, etc., but earlier pæncan, ænde, etc., with raising of æ to e before n and cons. In some dialects -æn- must have remained into L. O.E. See § 161 (2).

For the effects of *i*-mutation on the Pr. O.E. Diphthongs, see §§ 116, 117, 118, 119, 124, 132, 139, which deal with the peculiar special developments of the various dialects.

§ IIO. B. (?) Back-, or u-Mutation.

All the O.E. dialects are to some extent subject to this change, which consists in diphthonging i, e, and in Mercian x, when u, or o (from earlier -an) followed in the next syllable, e.g. *hebun becomes heofon. The process is excellently described by Bülbring (Elementarbuch, § 229). What happened was that the u first 'lip-modified' the preceding consonant, which in its turn produced a lip- or rounded glide between itself and the preceding front vowel: *witum became *witum and then *wivtum, whence wiutum, and later wiotum, later still weotum. (Note. w written after the symbol for a vowel or consonant sound implies that this was accompanied by a certain amount of rounding, or lip-modification.)

In W. Saxon this mutation takes place only (a) when the word begins with w, or any consonant followed by w, sw, etc.,

in which case it occurs no matter what consonant intervenes between the *i* or *e* and the following *u*; or, (*b*) when the intervening consonant is *l*, *r*, or a lip consonant—*p*, *m*, *f*. In words in which the *u* only occurs in certain cases—N. and Acc. Pl. Neuter, or Dat. Pl., Standard W. Saxon tends to give up the diphthongization, even in these cases, on the analogy of the undiphthongized forms of the other cases; thus scipu (N. and Acc. Pl.) and scipum (Dat. Pl.) 'ships', instead of sciopu (sceopu), etc., on the pattern of Sing. scip, etc. The result is that this mutation is a far less prominent feature in W.S. than in any of the other dialects where no such tendency exists.

The iu and eu of this origin become io and eo, and in West

Saxon are both levelled under eo as a rule.

 \boldsymbol{x} never undergoes the process in pure W.S., except in the word ealu 'ale', which is the Common O.E. form (from *alub-); never in Northumbrian, and only sporadically in a few forms, in one or two early Kentish charters, where it is probably due to Mercian influence. In Mercian the \boldsymbol{u} -mutation of \boldsymbol{x} (a) to ea is a typical feature of the dialect (§ 138).

Examples in W. Saxon:—cweocu fr. cwiocu, earlier cwiucu from cwicu 'living'; eofor 'wild boar 'from *efur; heorot 'hart', from *herut, cp. O.H.G. hirus; seolfor 'silver', earlier

*silubr; sweostor 'sister', cp. O.H.G. swester.

§ III. (8) 'Palatal Mutation'.

This term was suggested by Bülbring to denote primarily the loss in Anglian of the second element of the diphthong ea (which thus appears merely as e) before the consonant-groups ht, hs, hb, when followed by a front vowel, or when final.

Cf. § 90.

A very similar, though later process, affects also eo, io, in W. Sax., where we find cniht or cnie'ht' boy', 'servant', instead of the normal, cneoht (as we might expect) from *cneht with Fracture (§ 102). Here eo is fronted, and the first element raised to i. This only happens when the -ht is final, as in Nom.-Acc. Sing., or when a front vowel follows, as in Gen. and Dat. Sing. cni(e)htes, cni(e)hte; in the Pl. where back

vowels occur in the suffixes, eo remains-cneohtas, cneohta, cneohtum: Pihtisc 'Pictish' but Peohtas 'Picts'.

NOTE. This is an important difference for the subsequent development of the language, since Mod. Engl. knight can only be derived from the O.E. cniht type, and not from cneoht-.

§ 112. (9) Loss of h between vowels and contraction of vowel groups.

Early in the historical period k disappears between vowels; thus *foha 'seize' becomes *foa, *sleaha 'I strike' becomes *sleaa, *feohes (Gen. Sing. of feoh) 'property' becomes *feoes, etc. These combinations of vowels are simplified by the loss of the unstressed vowel, but the remaining vowel or diphthong is lengthened, if short, thus: *foa becomes fo; *sleaa becomes slea; *feoes becomes feos, etc.; *pīhan' thrive becomes *pīohan, whence *pioan, pion.

Vowel Lengthening in O.E.

§ 113. (a) Lengthening replaces Nasalization.

We have seen (§ 100) that when the combinations an-, amstand before s, f, or p, the nasal consonant is lost, having previously nasalized the a, which is then rounded, and subsequently lengthened in compensation for the later loss of nasalization. Precisely the same nasalization, loss of nasal consonant, and gradual replacing of the vowel nasalization by vowel length, takes place when i or u stand before n, or m, followed by a voiceless open consonant. Nasalized i and i before h, inherited from Germanic (cp. a, §§ 98 and 100, Note), are lengthened in the same way. Examples: sip 'time, journey, fr. *sip fr. *sinp, Goth. sinps; gesip 'companion', O.H.G. gisindi; fīf, fr. *fimf, cp. Goth. fimf, O.H.G. fimf, O. Sax. fīf; ūs 'us', O.H.G. uns; cūpe 'could', cp. Goth. kunba.

Examples of th, wh: O.E. peon 'thrive', fr. *pinxan-*pixan, Pr. O.E. pihan, piohan, etc. (§ 112); O.E. puhte 'seemed', fr.

*punxta-*puxta, Pret. of byncan, fr. *punk-jan.

(b) Short vowels were lengthened before the combinations nd, mb, (ng?), ld, rd: findan, lamb, singan (?), cild, word, all of which had, originally, short vowels. The lengthening which took place, probably, early in the ninth century is of importance for the later history of the language, for Mod. [faind, tsaild, koum], etc., can only be explained by assuming that the O.E. forms had long vowels. On the numerous cases such as end, friend, wind, where the Mod.

70 History of English Sounds: I. O.E. [CHAP. V forms presuppose short forms, at any rate in M.E., see § 175 (7). below.

Sound Changes which occur only in West Saxon. § 115. (i) Diphthonging after initial Front Consonants.

After the Front Consonants c, g (whether earlier g, or j) and the combination sc the Pr. O.E. vowels z, z, e are diphthongized, in the earliest period, to ea, ea, ie respectively.

(a) After c: W. Saxon ceaster 'city', etc. non-W. Sax. cæster; ceaf 'chaff', non-W.S. cæf; ceace from *cæce, cp.

Dutch kaak. There are no examples of ce-.

(b) After $\dot{g}(=g)$: $\dot{g}eat$ 'gate', non-W.S. $\dot{g}xt$; $\dot{g}eaf$, non-W.S. gæf; geafon 'gave', Pret. Pl., Pr. O.E. gæfon; gielp 'boast', cp. O.H.G. gelf, non-W.S. gelp; forgieldan 'to pay for', non-W.S. -geldan: $\dot{g} = j - g\bar{e}ar$ 'year', O.H.G. $j\bar{a}r$, Pr. O.E. $g\bar{x}r$. (c) After $s\dot{c}$: sceal 'shall', earlier $s\dot{c}xl$, Goth. skal; sceap

'sheep', earlier scap, cp. O.H.G. scaf; scieran 'cut', cp. O.H.G.

sceran.

NOTE 1. In Late W.S. ¿a is frequently monophthongized to ¿ after front cons., so that we get cef, gef, ger, scep, etc. This does not take place before a following back vowel, so geara, gearum, etc., remain.

NOTE 2. The W.S. form ceaster shows that the processes of fronting c before front vowels, and the subsequent diphthongization of this vowel after a front cons., were still in operation, if they did not actually begin after the English came to Britain, since ceaster is a Latin loan-word first acquired from Latin-speaking people in this country.

NOTE 3. The above process of diphthongization is later than that caused by Fracture, as may be seen from O.E. ceorl 'churl' from earlier cerl. The eo, which occurs in all the dialects, is the result of Fracture. Had *cerl remained unaltered until the period of diphthongization after front cons. this must have become *cierl in W.S.

§ 116. (2) i., j-Mutation of the Pr. O.E. Diphthongs ea, io.

In W.S. alone, of all the O.E. dialects, ea and to when followed by -i- or -j-, are mutated to $\overline{\imath e}$: (a) I. of \overline{ea} from au: hieran 'hear', from *hearjan, cp. Goth. hausjan; geliefan 'to believe', cp. O.E. geleafa 'faith', Goth. galaubjan; iede adv. 'easily', from *eaði, cp. O.E. adj. eaðe 'easy'; II. of ea from æ (W.Gmc. a) after front consonant:- crese 'cheese' from *¿ēāsi, from *¿æsi, W. Gmc. *kāsjō.

NOTE. The W.S. form diese shows that i-mutation was a later process than that of diphthonging after front cons. (§ 115). Had the former process taken place earlier than the latter, Pr. O.E. *¿ēssi would have remained unchanged by it, since se suffers no i-mutation. issi then would have become *ieasi in W.S. The short diphthong ie in itietel, etc., below (§ 117) tells the same story(b) Mutation of $\overline{io}:-\overline{cies}p$ 'chooses' 3rd Sing. Pres. of \overline{ceosan} , from \overline{ciosip} ; flues' fleece' from *flusi; $\overline{getriewe}$ 'faithful', cp. O. Sax. gitriuwi.

§ 117. (3) -i-Mutation of the Short Diphthongs.

The short diphthongs, ea, io, no matter what their origin, become ie in W. Sax. through the influence of a following -i-or -j-.

- (a) Mutation of ea: I. of ea, the result of Fracture (§ 102): iermpu'poverty, wretchedness', from *earmipu, earlier *xrmipu, cp. O.H.G. armida; fiellan 'cause to fall, cast down', from *fealljan, cp. feallan 'to fall'; nieht 'night', from *neahti, earlier *nxhti, cp. Goth. nahts, stem *nahti-; II. of ea from æ after front consonants (§ 115): cietel 'kettle', from *ceatil, earlier *cxtil, cp. Goth. katils; ciele 'cold, chill', from *ceatil, from *ceatil, cp. O.E. ceal-d 'cold'; giest 'stranger', from *geasti, earlier gxsti, cp. Goth. gasts, stem gasti-; scieppan 'create', from *sceappjan, cp. Goth. skapjan; sciell 'shell', from *sceallj-.
- § 118. (b) Mutation of io (iu), the result of Fracture: wierf becomes', from *wiorpip, wiurpip, 3rd Sing. Pres. of weorpan; hierde'shepherd', from *hiurdi, *hiordi, earlier *hirdi, O.H.G. hirti; gesiehb'sight', from -*siohipu from -*sihipō.

§ 119. Later Treatment of W.S. ie.

Already in Alfred's time, *i* is often written for *ii*, no matter what the origin of this: *niht*, *cniht*, *sillan* (earlier *siellan*, from *sellan*), etc., and *ie* for original *i*, thus *wietan*, etc., for *witan*. This points to the conclusion that, at any rate in part of the W. Sax. area, *i* and *ie* had both been levelled under the one sound *i*. On the other hand, after and before *r*, *i* often appears as *y*, so that for instance *ryht* 'right' from *riht*> *richt*> *recht* is the regular Early W. Sax. form of this word.

In other parts of the W. Sax. area, on the other hand, \vec{v} is not levelled under \vec{t} but kept distinct, until in Late W.S. it is rounded to \vec{y} , which does not happen to original \vec{i} . Thus in those Late W.S. texts which we possess, \vec{y} is the typical spelling, on the whole, for the earlier \vec{v} in all words of the classes illustrated in § 117. 3, above. Furthermore as in M.E. the $[\vec{y}]$ sounds are still preserved in the words, in the Saxon area, we must assume that the change of \vec{v} to \vec{y} was typical of this area generally, although Alfred's forms do not in all cases appear to be consistent with this assumption. In Alfred's dialect, apparently, there was a tendency, already noted, of

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levelling iz under i, which was not characteristic of the whole Saxon speech area.

NOTE. $i\vec{e}$ and $i\vec{e}$ are typical E.W.S. sounds, and occur in no other dialect. Further, that \tilde{y} representing earlier $i\vec{e}$, or anything else than the *i*-Mutation of $i\vec{e}$, occurs in W.S. alone.

§ 120. Pr. O.E. & in W.Sax.

With regard to this sound, it is perhaps desirable to record the negative fact that it undergoes no alteration in the Saxon area, during the whole O.E. period, and indeed remains as a characteristic of Southern English (with the exclusion of Kentish) in the M.E. period (§ 162). The other dialects have raised this \vec{x} (in $d\vec{x}d$ 'deed', $s\vec{x}ton$, pret. pl. of sittan, etc.) to \vec{e} before the period of the earliest documents. This non-W. Sax. \vec{e} was tense, cp. § 123.

NOTE. It is probable, however, that while the sound remained slack, it was raised to the mid [\vec{\varepsilon}] in Late W. Sax. Ælfric very often writes so for original \vec{\varepsilon}, derical 'injures', heefe 'weight', Sergius for Sergius, etc. He even writes so for \vec{\varepsilon} occasionally, \vec{\varepsilon} erwende, and I have noted \vec{\varepsilon} effretwoodon for \vec{\varepsilon} effretwoodon.

§ 121. Late West Saxon Treatment of weo-.

It is typical of L. W.S. that the combination weo, whether the diphthong be the result of Fracture, or u-Mutation, becomes wu-: wurpan fr. weorpan, swurd fr. sweord, swustor, fr. sweostor, c(w)ucu fr. cweocu. A few cases of wo- occur in Alfred.

§ 122. Unrounding of O.E. y (i-Mutation of ŭ) in Late W.S.

In some L. W.S. texts, a tendency to unround O.E. \bar{p} to \bar{i} before front consonants and n is observable. This is found more particularly in Ælfric's Grammar and in the Old Testament, though in the latter the i-forms are not quite universal. The unrounded forms are less numerous in the W.S. Gospels, and still less so in Wulfstan's Homilies. The Patois texts, Blickling Homilies, and Harleian Gloss generally preserve the rounded vowel before front consonants. The words cyning, cynn, and dryhten appear fairly consistently, however, as cinn, cining, drihten.

It is clear that the unrounding tendency did not obtain over the whole W.S. area in the Late O.E. period, and this is confirmed by the M.E. forms. In this period, brugge, rugge, etc., often appear in Sthn. texts, but the *i*-forms seem to be universal in drihten, king, cyng, etc.

NOTE. u in M.E. brugge, etc., is a Norm.-Fr. symbol for the [y] sound (§§ 153, 158 (c), below).

Points in which all the non-W.Sax, dialects agree.

§ 123. (1) Raising of Pr. O.E. æ to ē.

As just noted in § 120, Northumbrian, Mercian, and Kentish all raise \$\overline{x}\$ to \$\overline{e}\$. Thus all have solon, W.Sax. solon 'they sat'; rēd 'council', W.S. ræd; scep, med, strēt, etc., ger from gær, W.S. gear (§ 115 (b)); ded 'deed', W.S. dad; gredig 'greedy', W.S. grædig, etc., etc. This change can be traced in Kentish at the end of the seventh century.

6 124. (2) i., j-Mutation of Pr. O.E. ea.

Here again, all dialects except W.S. have ?: heran 'hear', W.S. hīeran; ģelēfan 'believe', W.S. ģelīefan; tēman 'to teem, to bring forth', W.S. tieman, from *teamjan, cp. O.E. team 'progeny'.

NOTE. The process whereby we have \mathcal{E} in non-W.S. instead of a diphthong is not clear. Was there a stage ie as in W.S., which was subsequently monophthongized? Or is it possible that the original diphthong when followed by -i- or -j- was monophthongized before the period of Mutation?

§ 125. (3) Frequency of Back-Mutation of e and i. (See § 110 above.)

All the non-W.S. dialects show a tendency to diphthongize and e when followed by a back vowel, especially u, to an extent which is unknown in the literary dialect of Wessex. The results of the process are most fully developed in Kentish (see § 141), but the Anglian dialects also have them with great frequency, limited indeed only by smoothing (§ 127), which eliminates the second element of the diphthong. non-W.S. dialects, unlike W.S., do not get rid of the diphthongized forms of words in favour of those without mutation, which may occur in particular cases of nouns, or parts of verbs. On the contrary, they tend rather to generalize the diphthongized forms as much as possible.

W.S. eliminates such a form as geofu 'gift', which is perfectly normal, in favour of giefu formed on the analogy of giefe, whereas Kentish tends to have the diphthongized forms everywhere: e.g. begeotan, seondan, siondan 'are', agiaban 'to give', weada 'woods', siodoan 'after', siolf (analogy of Dat. Pl. seolfum, etc.) 'self', etc., etc. All these are from Kentish

Charters in the first half of the ninth century.

The so-called Saxon Patois of the Blickling Homilies also has the diphthongized forms to a far greater extent than the Court dialect of Alfred.

THE ANGLIAN DIALECTS.

Features common to both Northumbrian and Mercian.

§ 126. (1) Absence of Fracture of æ, which appears as & before Il and 1+consonant; before eld this is lengthened to ā.

Anglian all, W.S. eall; calf, W.S. cealf; wall 'wall', W.S. weall; cald 'cold', W.S. ceald; haldan 'hold', W.S. healdan; bald 'bold', W.S. beald; ald, W.S. eald 'old', etc.

[Fracture of & before the r-combinations is not found so consistently in Anglian as in W.S. Before h, etc., Fracture takes place originally, but the diphthong is simplified again (see § 127 below).

The *i*-, *j*-mutation of a before ll or l+cons. in Anglian is x-fx=lan, W.S. fiellan (§ 117). Nthmb. wx=ma 'to warm' is probably to be regarded as = *warmjan, with mutation of a to x.]

§ 127. (2) Smoothing.

This is the name given by Sweet to the monophthongization of all diphthongs, both long and short, which took place in Primitive Anglian before back and front consonants. Eu, iu become e, t; instead of ea, before back and front consonants, we get first ž and later ž. O.E. ēa was developed out of earlier au (§ 97 (3)) through the stages xu, xo, xa, and the short ea had a similar development. These diphthongs appear to have been overtaken by the Smoothing process while they were at the zo stage. The z which results from the smoothing of the long diphthong is still found as a rule in eighthcentury texts, but is later raised to ē. Thus the earliest (Moore) MS. of Bede has lach, whereas the later MSS. have lech in the same passage; the Epinal Glossary has forms like laec 'vegetable', W.S. leac; aec 'also', W.S. eac; herebaecon 'military standard', W.S. beacen, while the ninth-century Leiden Riddle has heh- 'high', W.S. heah; suxbeh 'however', W.S. -Jeah. In the late Mercian Psalter and Hymns, ē is the commoner spelling-hēh, ģeēcnað 'increases', bilēc 'locked', W.S. beleac, etc. The Lindisfarne Gospels have heh, becon, ēcan, ēc, etc., but the more archaic spelling æc for the last word is far commoner.

The short z, smoothing from ea, is usually not raised to e, cp. dagas, Pl. fr. *deagas by back-mutation from *dagas (§ 110), in the Mercian Hymns, and middils xxum in an eighthcentury Merc. Charter. Pr. O.E. & remains in Nthumb. but becomes e in Merc.; cp. § 137 below.

§ 128. (3) Retention of oe.

The *i*-mutation of \bar{o} , originally $\bar{o}\bar{e}$ in all dialects (§ 105, above), remains in the spelling, and probably in the pronunciation, of the Anglian dialects throughout the O.E. period— $b\bar{o}\bar{e}\dot{c}$, W.S. $b\bar{e}\dot{c}$ 'books', $s\bar{o}\bar{e}\dot{c}an$, W.S. $s\bar{e}\dot{c}an$ 'to seek'.

(On oe in Kentish see § 144.)

Features which distinguish Northumbrian from Mercian.

§ 129. (1) Retention of Pr. O.E. & as in W.S. (§ 97 above), whereas the Mercian dialect of Vespas. Ps. agrees with Kentish in raising this to e (§ 137 below).

§ 130. (2) Traces of late Diphthonging after front consonants. This is unknown in Mercian and Kentish, but characteristic of W.S., where, however, it is a primitive process. The Northumbrian process has been discussed with some minuteness by Bülbring, Anglia, Beibl. ix, and Elementarbuch, §§ 154, 155, 294-6, 302.

In Rushw.² sceal 'shall', as in W.S., is found, and scip 'sheep' which according to Bulbring, § 154, is from *sciep

with diphthongization of the Angl. scep, Pr. O.E. scap.

NOTE. This is surely later than the W.S. process, since it is later than the Angl. raising of \tilde{z} to $\tilde{\epsilon}$, though doubtless, as Bülbring says, much earlier than the Nthmb. diphthonging of back vowels after $s\tilde{\epsilon}$.

The clearest cases of the diphthonging of back vowels in (Nthn.) Nthmb. are found after $s\dot{c}$, and must be very late, indicating a rising diphthong, i.e. one stressed on second element, if we take them seriously as diphthongal forms— $s\dot{c}e\bar{a}n$ 'shone', earlier $s\dot{c}a\bar{n}$, pret. sing. of $sc\bar{i}nan$, $s\dot{c}eacca$ 'to shake', $s\dot{c}e\bar{o}h$ 'shoe', etc. The e in all these forms may be merely a graphic device to indicate that $s\dot{c}$ is front.

§ 131. (3) Absence of back-Mutation of æ (found in Mercian, § 138).

§ 132. (4) Distinction preserved between eo and io.

In W. Sax. the old diphthong \overline{io} (Pr. O.E. iu) which only arose in W. Gmc. when -i- or -j- followed, became \overline{ie} in the Mutation period unless there was a change of suffix (§ 118). In Anglian, no alteration was effected in the sound by the following -i- and the diphthong is preserved as \overline{io} in O. Nthmb. and remains distinct from \overline{eo} from Pr. eu, whereas in Mercian \overline{io} is levelled under \overline{eo} : Nthmb. $\overline{oiostro}$ 'darkness', W.S. $\overline{oiestru}$, O. Sax. thiustri; gestr \overline{iona} 'gain, beget children', W.S. gestr \overline{ienan} .

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The same distinction is preserved in Nthmb. between the short diphthongs io, eo: wiurpit in Bede's Death Song, W.S. wierp from *wiurpip from *wirpip by Fracture; hiorde'shepherd', W.S. hierde; iorre 'angry', W.S. ierre; giornede 'desired', W.S. giernde. (On the W.S. ie, later y, in these forms, see §§ 118, 119, above.)

§ 133. (5) Influence of initial w upon following vowels.

The following changes are characteristic of late Nthmb.:

- (a) weo- (Fracture) becomes wo-: worda 'become' from earlier weordan, worpa 'throw' from weorpan, sword 'sword' from sweord.
- (b) In Nthn. Nthmb. weo-, the result of o- or u-Mutation, also becomes wo-: woruld from weoruld from weruld 'world', wosa 'to be' from weosan from wesan. [According to Bülbring, § 267, in Sthn. Nthmb. wosa is the only form with o from eo as a result of o-Mutation; otherwise weo- remains—weoruld, etc.]

This change is quite unknown in Mercian and Kentish. In late W.S. a somewhat similar change, that of weo- to wu-,

occurs (§ 121).

- (2) Initial we- becomes wæ- through rounding of the vowel: wæġ 'way' from weġ, cwæða 'speak' from cweðan (but cweoðan becomes cwoða (cp. (b) above), wæs 'be' Imperat from wes. [Not quite unknown in Mercian, where such forms as cwoeðaþ, woestenne 'solitudine', occur sporadically.]
- (d) In Late Nthn. Nthmb. $w\bar{e}$ (Anglian form of Pr. O.E. $w\bar{x}$ -) becomes $w\bar{x}$ -; $w\bar{x}$ -pen 'weapon', W.S. $w\bar{x}$ -pen, $w\bar{x}$ -g' wave', W.S. $w\bar{x}$ -g.

[This change is unknown in Mercian.]

§ 134. (6) In Southern Northumbrian, W. Gmc. au (W. Sax. \overline{ea}) appears generally as \overline{eo} , being apparently arrested at the \overline{xo} stage: $d\overline{eo}p$ 'death', W.S. $d\overline{ea}p$; $d\overline{eo}f$ 'deaf', W.S. $d\overline{ea}f$; $h\overline{eo}fud$, W.S. $h\overline{ea}fod$; $\overline{eo}re$ 'ear', W.S. $\overline{ea}re$, etc.

Nthn. Nthmb, more commonly writes ea, as in all other

dialects.

§ 135. (7) Northern Nthmb. writes ea more frequently for Fracture of e before rr and r+consonant than eo: hearte 'heart', W.S. heorte; earou 'earth'. In the Sthn. Nthmb. texts eo is more frequent.

[Mercian also shows some traces of ea, but eo is general.]

& 136. (8) Southern Nthmb. of the later period, on the other hand, generally writes eo instead of ea for the Fracture of z: eorm 'arm', hweorf 'turned, wandered', W.S. hwearf.

[In Mercian, as in Kentish, eo sometimes occurs for ea, but rarely.]

Characteristic Mercian Features.

& 137. (1) Raising of že to č.

In distinction to Northumbrian and W.S., which retain & throughout the O.E. period, but in agreement with Kentish, in part of the Mercian area this vowel is raised to e by an isolative change. This is most consistently shown in the ninth-century Vespasian Psalter and Hymns, and in the later Glosses in MS. Royal. The Mercian Matthew (Rushworth 1), however, writes a far more commonly. Examples (from Vesp. Ps. and Hymns) are: hwet 'what?', deges (Gen. Sing. of deg 'day'), degum (Dat. Pl. on analogy of Sing.), efter 'after', weter 'water', wes 'was'.

The forms dagas, daga, cwacung in Vesp. Hymns are examples of Anglian smoothing from *deaga, etc. See § 138

below.

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§ 138. (2) Back-Mutation of Pr. O.E. æ.

gedeafenað 'befits', ic fearu 'I go', feadur 'father' (Gen.

Sing.), gehleadap 'they load', steadelas 'foundations'.

This mutation took place, in the dialect of the Vesp. Ps., also when g or c was the intervening consonant, but such forms as *deagas, *cweacung 'shaking' were smoothed to dægas, etc. This smoothing of ea is the chief source of ž in this text.

§ 139. (3) Levelling of iu, later io, under eo.

Vesp. Ps. has weotap (Imperat. Pl.) 'know ye' from wiutap, cweopap 'they speak', cleopiu 'I call' from *clipoju, whence *cliupoju, ceosep 'chooses' from *ciosip.

The same levelling occurs in the case of to the result of

Fracture of i: eorsian 'become angry', eorre 'angry', heorde, W.S. hierde 'shepherd'.

NOTE. Such forms as wreocende, spreocende in Vesp. (Back-mutation of e), where we should expect Smoothing, must be due to the analogy of other verbs in the same class, where the diphthong normally remained unsmoothed, e.g. beoran 'bear', etc. Steogun 'climbed', from stigun (Pret. Pl.), may be explained on the analogy of wreotun 'they wrote'; but see also § 141 belowTypical South-East Midl., S. Eastern, and Kentish Features. § 140. (1) æ, the i-Mutation of Pr. O.E. ā raised to ē.

Most of the O.E. dialects preserve this z unaltered during the whole O.E. period. Already in the Kentish Charters of the ninth century, we get forms such as clenra, enig, mest. gemenum (Dat. Pl.) 'common', cp. Goth. gamaini-, and in the Surrey Charter of 871-89 gedēle, W.S. gedālan 'divide', Goth. gadailjan; lēsten 'perform', Goth. galaistjan; hwēte-, W.S. hwāte- 'wheat', from *hwaiti-, Pr. O.E. *hwāti. A Suffolk Ch. of 991 has dele; another of 1038 has gelesta, hlefdigen. This change can be shown to be distinctly later than the raising of Pr. O.E. & (§ 123 above) to ē which is common to all non-W.S. dialects. The later Kentish Psalm and Hymn write a for both sounds, but owing to the early disappearance of the sounds (\tilde{x}) in Kentish, the symbols x and e are used indifferently for the mid-front sound. That z is indeed used for a mid-front vowel is shown by the spelling har for her 'here' in a Kt. Ch. of 831. In this word no one supposes that any old dialect ever had other than a mid-front vowel. The same confusion is shown in the spelling swastar for swestor 'sister', where the short mid-front is certain.

[On preservation of this F in M.E. see § 162 below.]

§ 141. (2) Typical Kentish Back-Mutation.

We may consider such forms as reogolweard 'guardian of a (religious) rule', and forespreoca 'advocate', breogo 'prince', as typically Kentish, since W.S. does not admit of this mutation before a back consonant (cp. § 110) and, although it no doubt occurred under these conditions in early Anglian, it would be reduced by smoothing in the Anglian dialects (§ 127 above). Kentish influence may partly explain the forms in Vesp. Ps. discussed in § 139, note, above.

§ 142. (3) O.E. y (i-Mutation of ŭ), unrounded, and lowered to ĕ.

In the Late Kentish Psalm, we find sennum 'sins' (Dat. Pl.), W.S. synnum; gelta 'guilt', W.S. gylt; grammheġdiġ 'cruel', W.S. -hyġdiġ; snetera 'wise', W.S. snyter, etc. In Early Kentish such spellings do not occur in stressed syllables, though the proper name Heregēħ, W.S. gūħ is found, but the change, even in stressed syllables, is assured for the early period by the spelling yfter 'after' in a Ch. of 831, to represent Kt. efter, W.S. æfter. This spelling would be impossible unless Kt. scribes had already pronounced O.E. y as

e in words where they still adhered to the traditional spelling (y). If they pronounced e whenever they saw or wrote y, of course y might come to be regarded as a symbol for the e-sound. The late O.E. Suffolk Ch. of 991 (Sweet's Second A. S. Reader, pp. 209-13), has several e-forms: -brece 'use', pette 'pit', gefelste 'help', etc.

ē, for original v, continues to be one of the chief marks of Kentish dialect, or Kentish influence during the M.E. period (§ 158 (b)), and we have in Standard English to-day, words like knell, O.E. cnyllan, outside the Kentish dialect, which we know must be of S.E. Midl. or S.E. origin (§ 253, note 3, below).

NOTE. This feature extends in M.E. beyond the old Kentish area, and is found, in varying degrees of frequency, in S. Lincs., Northants, Essex, Suffolk, and Sussex. In the last quarter of the fourteenth century it is found also in Norfolk.

§ 143. (4) The group wiu.

In Kentish, the otherwise usual change to wu does not occur, so that we get weada, weotum, instead of wudu, wutum.

Wudum is found, however, in Bd. Gl.

The diphthongs vu, vo are not clearly and consistently distinguished in Kt. 10 is commoner in this dialect than 60 for earlier eu. For short eo and io we find often ia, io by the side of eo: thus seondan, siondon, weadu, gewriota, sioddan, niomanne; hiabanlic, begeotan, agiaban, -gecweodu, etc.

§ 144. Treatment of œ (i-mutation of ō) in Kentish.

The ninth-century Charters consistently write oe for the i-mutation of ō of every origin—foe 'take', boec, doed, goes 'geese', soecende, geræfa, 'reeve', etc. The only exception seems to be bledsung. Surrey Charter (879-89) has oe once, but usually writes eo-feo, gefeorum 'companions' (W.S. geferum), seolest 'best', rehtmeodrencynn. In later Kentish e is the usual spelling-gemete, gebette, secende, etc. (Psalm). The spelling seocan, however, occurs once in this text. The Late Kt. Glosses always write ē.

The spelling eo, occurring already in the latter half of the ninth century, seems to show that the traditional spelling oe was no longer felt as satisfactory, and may imply that the vowel was already but slightly rounded. It is curious that eo should crop up again in Late Kt. We can hardly take it to represent a rounded vowel, in the face of the far more numerous &-spellings. The spelling bam 'both' Dat. Pl., which occurs in a Ch. of 831, compared with bam in 805, shows clearly that even at this date oe could represent an

unrounded vowel, and the spelling h xr for h e r 'here' shows that x could represent the mid-front vowel. It seems probable that by the year 831, the old vowel \bar{x} had already been unrounded in Kt. A form with slight rounding may have survived longer in Surrey.

§ 145. Summary of Chief Dialectal Characteristics in O.E.

It will be convenient to summarize briefly the principal features which distinguish the O.E. dialects. The following list includes only those which are of importance for the subsequent history of the language. A few examples are added to make the statement concrete.

(1) Diphthonging after front consonants: seeal, giefan, ceaf, geat, etc. (§ 115). In L.W.S. the ea are monophthongized to e: seel, eef, etc.

[This process of diphthonging is confined to W. Saxon.]

- (2) i- or j-Mutation of Diphthongs ea, eo, to te [only in W.S.]: iermpu, huerde 'heard'; ciesp 'chooses', wierp 'becomes'. In late W.S. these te become y: yrmpu, hyrde, etc. (§§ 116-19).
- (3) Survival of Primitive O.E. & (W.Gmc. &) [survives only in W.S.]: $s\bar{x}ton$, $str\bar{x}t$, $d\bar{x}d$, etc., etc. (§ 120).
- (4) Survival of Primitive O.E. & [W.S. and Northumbrian, and part of Mercian area]: glæd, dæġ, wæs, etc., etc. (§§ 97, 129, 137).
- (5) Change of $\tilde{\mathbf{y}}$ (i-Mutation of $\tilde{\mathbf{u}}$) to $\tilde{\mathbf{e}}$ [Kentish, Essex (?), and S.E. Midl.]: senn, W.S. synn; fer 'fire', W.S. $f\bar{y}r$, etc., etc. (§ 142).
- (6) Absence of Fracture of æ (ă) before 11 or 1+ another consonant [typically Anglian]: all, W.S. eall; āld 'old', W.S. eald; cāld 'cold', non-Angl. ceald, etc., etc. (§ 126).
- (7) Smoothing of all Diphthongs before c, \dot{c} , g, \dot{g} , h [typically Anglian]: $h\bar{z}h$, W.S. $h\bar{e}ah$; $l\bar{e}ht$ 'light', W.S. $l\bar{e}oht$ (§ 127).
- (8) Diphthonging of O.E. & to ea by u-Mutation [Mercian only]: feadur, steadelas from *stadulas (§ 138).
- (9) Raising of Primitive & (W.Gmc. a) to e [all dialects except W.S.]: sēton, strēt, dēd (§ 123).
- (10) Raising of æ (i-Mutation of Pr. O.E. a) to ē [found chiefly in Kentish, but also in Suffolk texts]: dēlan, W.S. dælan (§ 140).

CHAPTER VI

HISTORY OF ENGLISH SOUNDS

II. THE MIDDLE ENGLISH PERIOD

§ 146. THE number of literary works composed and written down during the M.E. period, that is, between, roughly, 1100 and 1450, is extremely large, and many of the individual works are of great length. M.E. literature is of the most varied character. Every kind of composition, in prose and verse, is represented; the religious treatise, the legal document, the lyric, the romance, history, serious narrative, satire, comedy, the sublime, the ridiculous, the grave, the gay; every note in the lyre of human passion is struck, every phase of human experience is portrayed. Almost every area, from Aberdeen to Sussex, except perhaps the Central Midlands, is represented by one or more works written in the local form of English.

Materials therefore are not lacking for the adequate study of our language, in all its forms, during the 350 years which begin within half a century of the Norman Conquest, and end

fifty years after the death of Chaucer.

§ 147. The Norman Conquest.

This great event, while it undoubtedly marks a new departure in many ways in our social and political history, is by no means such a revolutionary factor in the history of our language as some writers would lead one to believe. Its main effects are seen in our vocabulary. While the M.E. period is characterized by far-reaching sound changes, which we think of as beginning soon after the Norman Conquest, there is every reason for believing that the germ of the tendencies which first find graphic expression at this time existed already long before, and that the linguistic phenomena which become noticeable in the texts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are the natural heritage of the past. In fact, there is no ground for assuming that the history of English sounds would have been other than we know it, had the Norman Conquest never taken place. The external form and the internal structure of English have undergone continuous, but gradual change, from the earliest times to the present day. The Norman Conquest did not sever the continuity and begin a new era. We are to consider the changes in sounds and inflexions which we associate with the M.E. period, not as due in any way to the great historical cataclysm which befell in 1066, but as the natural outcome of forces that were at work long before Duke William was born, which can be traced to some extent in the texts of the late O.E. period.

§ 148. Apparent increased rate of change in Early Transition English.

If we examine the language of the latter parts of the Peterborough Chronicle which were written down about seventy to ninety years after the coming of the Normans, and compare it with that of the Charters written in the reign of Edward the Confessor (1043-66) or of William's English Charters, we are struck by certain obvious differences. Charters are, to all intents and purposes, good Old English, showing to a superficial view but little difference from the language of Alfred, still less from that of Ælfric. language of the Chronicle, during the last eighty or ninety years of the record, is something very different. Not only has the conventional O.E. spelling been largely given up in favour of what appear tentative efforts to express quite a different pronunciation, but the inflexions are greatly impaired; for instance, we get the indeclinable definite article, in such constructions as of he king, we find a new personal pronoun sex, the ancestor of the modern she, instead of heo, and the structure of the sentence is often very different from the old usage. As we note all the differences, we might be inclined to ask whether these considerable changes in the language, which have come about with such apparent suddenness, must not be attributed to some great event such as the Norman Conquest, which has upset society from top to bottom, and reacted upon the language. Why, it may reasonably be asked, has English suddenly changed more, in less than a hundred years, than it did during the three hundred and fifty vears before 1066?

The answer is not far to seek. The Norman Conquest did not, indeed, produce a sudden change in the language itself, but it did cause the death, or nearly so, of literary prose tradition. The spoken language, we must suppose, had outgrown and gone beyond the written forms that we find in Ælfric and in the late charters. But the scribes were strongly conservative,

and adhered to the old methods of spelling which represented approximately the facts of the language as pronounced, perhaps, a hundred years earlier, but had long ceased to give a true picture of contemporary speech. In the same way, the style and structure of the sentence, in literary works, was based upon the older models found in writings, and not upon that of the colloquial language. We may assume, perhaps, that in the latter respect the same kind of difference, only on a more extensive scale, existed between the style of the written and spoken language, in late O.E., as is seen at the present time, when we write is it not, will I not, were it not for that, the Misses Smith, whereas in ordinary colloquial speech we say [iznt it, wount ai, if it woznt fo oæt, to mis smips] and so on. But soon after the Conquest, English learning sank to a very low ebb. The great prelates, the Bishops and Abbots, were Normans; the language and literature of the English, regarded as belonging to a rude and boorish race, were no longer objects of solicitude for the learned. The art of writing, no doubt, was hardly practised by Englishmen, or only by the more aristocratic who had the opportunity of acquiring the language of the dominant race. Documents were but rarely written in English. The continuity of literary English prose style was broken. When Englishmen again took up the pen, after more than half a century of neglect, and attempted to set down their thoughts on parchment, they had to create afresh an English prose style. What models had they? The documents of the age which was gone, of the time when English letters still flourished, were now hopelessly antiquated in style, and too far removed from actual facts to serve as models. The old traditional spelling, much behind the time even in the days of Alfric, was still less adapted to the requirements of twelfth-century English. The only thing to do was to put the thoughts, as far as possible, into the form of sentence used in the ordinary spoken language, and to adapt, in some way or other, what remained of a traditional mode of rendering sounds to the changed conditions of pronunciation.

Such considerations as these enable us to understand that the apparent gulf between pre-Conquest English and that of the period immediately following that event is not a reality, but that the appearance is a natural result of the conditions inseparable from the graphic representation in the latter period of a language whose literary cultivation had long been neglected. It is perhaps worth while to point out here that the documents of the Early Transition period probably present a far more faithful picture of the spoken language of



the time, than do the writings of an age of highly developed literary activity, based on a powerful tradition.

NOTE. On the other hand there is a remarkable continuity of poetical diction and phrasing between Early M.E. and O.E., and this is preserved in some of the fourteenth-century poetical Romances, at least to the extent of employing certain conventional clichés which were used in O.E.

§ 149. Variety of Dialectal Types in M.E.

(1) It is constantly pointed out, and indeed it strikes at once every student who makes the most superficial survey of M.E. documents, that compared with the four or five well-marked types of English which appear in the pre-Conquest sources, there is an extraordinary richness of dialect types preserved in M.E. It would be very wrong to draw the inference from this fact, that the process of dialectal differentiation was more active after than before the Conquest, and that a host of new varieties of English came into being in the

later periods.

The comparative uniformity of O.E. as we know it in the written documents must be explained by the strength of W. Saxon scribal tradition, which levelled many slightly differing forms of speech under a single type for literary purposes. No such check existed, for a long time, in the M.E. period. Every writer was largely a law unto himself, and while he no doubt owed something to the gradually hardening tradition of spelling, he felt free to try experiments of his own. The spelling of Orm (fl. 1200) is an example of highly developed individualism, for which the whole of Old and even of Middle English offers no parallel. The M.E. scribes do full justice to the variety of regional dialects which undoubtedly existed, but they also, by the individualism of their methods, may occasionally suggest a variety greater than really existed. We do not often find complete consistency in the spelling of a single text, therefore when we compare that of several writers of the same period, we may mistake for variety of dialect what is really an experimental groping after the best way of writing the same sound.

(2) But after all allowances are made for individual vagaries, there are certain well-established modes of expressing sounds which are fairly constant, and from which we may reasonably infer a specific intention on the part of the scribes to express a particular sound. If, for instance, one text has the spelling erpe and another urpe for O.E. eorpe, and these spellings are severally used with fair consistency in each text, for this and other words which were written with eo in O.E., it is reasonable

to infer that two different pronunciations of the same original sound are thus expressed. In fact it is only from such differences of spelling that it is possible to arrive at those phonological differences which in M.E., as at the present day, form such important and characteristic indications of dialect variety.

Just as in O.E. we note that the same W.Gmc. sound develops differently in the speech of different areas, so in M.E. we observe similar differences in the treatment of O.E. sounds. These phonological idiosyncrasies are, together with certain others affecting grammatical forms or inflexions, the decisive

tests of dialect identity.

In §§ 64, 65, the regularity of sound change in a given dialect was insisted upon as a necessary axiom of philological method. Now it will often appear, from the study of a M.E. text, that the same original O.E. sound is written sometimes in the same word, in two, or even three, different ways, so as to imply two or even three dialect types-e. g. brigge, bregge, brugge, for O.E. brycg 'bridge'. Are we bound in such a case to suppose that the text has been corrupted, and that it cannot represent a genuine 'pure' dialect such as was actually spoken? Not necessarily. Before committing ourselves to such an opinion it is reasonable to inquire whether, as a matter of fact, there was an area within which these three types, or any two of them, as the case may be, were both or all in use at the time when our text was written.

It is possible that we may find several other texts, written by different scribes, which also exhibit a similar diversity. If this should be so, and if all the texts which we thus compare should prove to have the various types in approximately the same proportions, it would go far to establish the probability that the diversity was an actual fact in the speech of the area

from which all the texts came.

The lesson of this, and it is a common experience in dealing with M.E. texts, is that the speech of a given region is not cut off from that of surrounding areas by impassable barriers, but may be influenced by the linguistic environment. We have only to look at a map of England to see how the boundaries of many counties bulge out here, retreat there, as neighbouring counties, in one area almost enclose a portion, in others, eat far into them. Note, for instance, how Oxfordshire in the N.E. has a tongue flanked to the E. by Northants, to the W. by Warwick; how in the S.E. it bites far into Berks., separated from the latter, it is true, by the Thames, while farther west, Berks., still bounded by the Thames, takes a great scoop out of Oxfordshire. Oxfordshire is on the whole typically W. Midl. in dialect, but we shall not expect to find that the dialect of the N.W. of the county, with its totally different linguistic environment, presents the same features in all respects as that of the S.W. area. We shall anticipate that usually the dialect of one area will pass by almost imperceptible gradations into that of another.

(3) Now the picture which is presented by the numerous M.E. texts, so far as we can piece together the evidence which they afford, is indeed something of this kind. We find not a series of entirely clear-cut, sharply distinguished dialect types, each of which is perfectly regular and ideally consistent in its character and constituent elements, but rather, as a rule, we get the impression of dialects which, as it were, dovetail one into the other, and each of which is, so to speak, shot and diversified by characteristics from others spoken in adjacent areas. The 'pure' dialect is hardly found, and even those texts which are regarded as exhibiting such 'purity' frequently present apparently incongruous features, while the great majority show a more or less variegated character, and represent in fact border dialects, types of speech belonging, evidently, to intermediate areas, lying between others of slightly different linguistic complexion, and partaking the characters of the surrounding dialects. Owing to the necessary lack of preciseness in our classification of the M.E. dialects and the vagueness and imperfections in our knowledge of the geographical diffusion of the principal characteristic dialect features, and especially of the ways in which these were combined and grouped in the speech of different areas, we have been inclined, in the past, to ignore the existence of border or intermediate dialects, and to attribute to various external corrupting influences what may well be a combination of features, really existing in a dialect actually spoken and faithfully reproduced in the suspected text.

A good example of a border dialect is that of London, as exhibited in the early sources, including the forms used by Chaucer and Caxton, and indeed the Standard English of speech and literature in the present day. This, which may be regarded as in origin a variety of Cent. Sthn. (§ 151 D.), presents, as is well known, a certain dialectal variety in its constituent elements. That this should be so in the Regional dialect of the London area was inevitable. The speech of the Middle Saxons, subject as it was to influence from Hertford to the N., Bucks. to the W., and from Essex to N. and E., could not but show some traces of all these types. But the same possibilities, or rather certainties, of influence and counter influence,

exist in almost any area, and the more extensive an area, the greater the opportunities of environmental influence. The dialect of Kent in M.E., especially the type exhibited in Ayenbite, is singularly pure, and free from features not commonly accepted as belonging to this area. But if we consider the position of Canterbury, where the unique MS. of the text was written, this dialectal purity of the text does not appear surprising. Situated in the extreme E., in that part of Kent which juts into and is surrounded by the sea on three sides, with the great expanse of Kent stretching away behind it, Canterbury is completely isolated from direct contact with non-Kentish areas, and remote from the borders both of Sussex and of Surrey. Here, if anywhere, we should expect a 'pure' dialect. In the same way, the consistent and uniform dialect character of Genesis and Exodus, and of the Bestiary, is intelligible if we are right in assigning these texts to the largely isolated county of Norfolk.

(4) The diffusion or distribution of a given dialect feature may vary from age to age; it may become more widespread, or its sphere may be contracted. This is another way of saying that the general dialect complexion of an area will not be the same at all periods. It may lose some of its original characters altogether, it may acquire others formerly alien to it. This variability in constituent elements is observable in the London dialect, and in all others whose history has been investigated

throughout a period of several centuries.

§ 150. (1) Problems and Methods of Investigation of M.E. Dialects.

The age of a MS. can usually be decided by palaeographical experts to within a quarter of a century or less. It may usually be assumed that the language of a text represents, on the whole, that current at the time it was written. The M.E. scribe, even when he copies an earlier document, generally brings the language up to date, and those archaic forms which he reproduces are generally easily distinguishable from those which belong to his own speech. Exceptions to this exist in some deliberate attempts to write O.E. in the thirteenth century, when it was necessary to produce an ancient charter proving possessions or privileges long enjoyed by a monastery, etc. Certain Homilies (e.g. Holy Rd. Tree, Ed. Napier, c. 1175) are virtually faithful copies of L.O.E. with some occasional M.E. spellings introduced, but such do not concern us here. On the other hand, the English documents in Chertsey Chartulary (written c. 1275), see Kemble Cod. Dipl., although based on older documents are on the whole normal English of the day,

with a very few archaisms.

To identify the regional dialect of a text is quite another matter. If we have the author's own MS., as in Ayenbite and Ormulum, one source of contamination is eliminated, and unless we are to believe that the author himself wrote a sham or artificial dialect, or that his own speech was an unreal, blended form of English, peculiar to himself, we must conclude that we have before us an example of a genuine, current dialect. If however our text is a copy, it is possible that the scribe may have introduced some forms from his own dialect here and there, while preserving, on the whole, the author's type; or he may reverse the process, and change the greater part of the text, only occasionally preserving the forms of his original. Again, several scribes may have made copies, and the text before us may be a copy of a copy and exhibit traces of both scribes as well as of the original author. In any of these cases we have a text which does not reproduce a genuine form of English, really spoken in a particular area, but a fortuitous mixture of dialect types. A further possibility, especially in the later fourteenth century, is that either author or scribe may introduce, side by side with the genuine forms of his own dialect, others quite foreign to it from the London type. These possibilities must be borne in mind by the student, but he must not forget the principles set forth in § 149. 2, 3, 4.

The question arises then: is the dialect of this or that text a genuine regional form of English, or is it not? The answer to this involves a further question; was there any area within which just such a collocation of dialect features as this text exhibits was in use in the M.E. period? The only way to settle these points is to compare the doubtful text with one or more others, whose general complexion appears to resemble it. Should it appear, as it often happens, that several independent texts, written by different scribes, perhaps at slightly different periods, all show the same main features, and the same approximate combination of features, we may regard the question of genuineness answered in the affirmative. Further confirmation may be sought from a comparison with the forms of placenames recorded at the same date as the texts were written.

See § 150. 2.

§ 150. (2) Forms of Place-Names in M.E. as a guide to Phonology of Dialects.

During the last dozen years it has been increasingly recognized by students of M.E. dialects that much light is

thrown on their special problems by a critical investigation of the forms of English place-names as recorded in ancient Charters, Rolls, Rentals, Inquisitions, Surveys, etc. English place-names, as is well known, are frequently compounds, and contain in one or other element common words such as O.E. hyll 'hill'; hyrst' wood'; neopor 'lower'; heah 'high'; leah 'field'; strepel 'steeple', and others, which have a characteristic dialect form in different areas. These elements in M.E. placenames exhibit the same varieties of form as they do when they occur as independent words in prose or poetry of the same period. Provided therefore, that we have reasonable assurance that the forms of place-names found in a given collection of records were those in actual use in the area in which the places are, at the date when the record was written, it is possible to derive from them a more reliable notion of the phonological features of the dialect of that area than from any other source, except from a continuous English text whose precise date and place of origin are known beyond any doubt. Unfortunately such texts are very few in number, and if we ignore the testimony of place-names in the investigation of M.E. dialects, we find ourselves in a vicious circle of doubt and difficulty. A certain text, let us say, is believed for some reason or other to be in the Dorsetshire dialect of the thirteenth century. The palaeographers can tell us the date of the handwriting within a few decades, but how are we to test theories about the dialect itself? We do not know what were the precise phonological features of the Dorsetshire dialect of the thirteenth century, because we have no texts of which we dare affirm positively that they represent that dialect. But, failing such direct information, we cannot recognize genuine Dorsetshire texts when we see them, because we do not know what the Dorsetshire dialect in M.E. was like. Now although the fullest collection of Dorsetshire place-names of the early periods, selected from the most reliable documents we can find, may not tell us everything we want to know about the dialect of that county, we can learn a good deal from them which we cannot discover at present from any other source.

We can at least lay the foundations of such knowledge as will enable us to say whether the text whose dialect we are trying to identify has such a combination of phonological features as did actually exist in the dialect of Dorset at the

approximate date at which the text was written.

The use of place-names in the investigation of M.E. dialect phonology has been exemplified by several valuable researches published by Ekwall, Brandl, Heuser, Miss M. Serjeantson, and



Miss B. Mackenzie, also in some articles by the present writer. The value and reliability of this new instrument may be regarded as established, and it seems probable that, largely by its means. we shall before long reach something like clarity in our classification of M.E. dialects, together with a moderately complete picture of the essential features of the several regional types, and something like an exact account of the geographical distribution of each of the principal distinguishing dialectal features severally.

A few general principles of method in the use of place-names

in dialect research may be formulated.

(1) The forms of place-names actually current in the speech of a given area will, as a rule, be most faithfully recorded in Charters, Wills, and other documents written locally. Preference should therefore be given as far as possible to the forms found in documents of this type. Records of a more public character such as Rolls and Inquisitions, though often surprisingly faithful to the genuine local type, may contain forms with a standardized spelling not strictly reproducing the local pronunciation.

(2) Although place-names throw light principally upon phonological characters, they may also occasionally reveal something concerning typical inflexional forms, especially those

of the Present Participle.

- (3) As mentioned in § 149. 4, the general character of a dialect may, and generally does, alter from age to age. This alteration may take the form, on the one hand, of the disappearance of a particular dialect feature from, or its extension into, the speech of an area; on the other, when more than one type of pronunciation of a given original sound was in use, the relative frequency with which the types severally occur may differ at different times; now this one, now that may preponderate. The relative frequency of the types should be noted.
- (4) In comparing the phonological features exhibited by the place-names of a given area with those of a text, the most reliable results will be obtained by basing the comparison on forms of place-names written down at approximately the same period as the MS. of the text; thirteenth-century texts should be compared with thirteenth-century place-name forms, fourteenth-century texts with fourteenth-century place-name forms, and so on. It may be very misleading, for instance, to deduce, as some have done, the distribution of dialect features in O.E. from the conditions revealed in M.E. place-names; still more misleading to draw inferences respecting M.E. dialects from a survey of the rustic dialects of the present day.

(5) Conclusions regarding phonology, derived from placename forms, should be based only upon those elements whose identity is established beyond all reasonable doubt. When possible, though this does not always happen, it is most satisfactory to compare a given element in a place-name with the same word occurring as an independent element of vocabulary in a text of the same date. If, for instance, in a fourteenth-century text O.E. heah ' high ' invariably appears as hyze, whereas in the fourteenth-century forms of place-names of a given area this word never appears in any form but heie, we should hesitate to ascribe the origin of the text to this area.

§ 151. Classification of M.E. Dialects.

Owing to the reasons referred to in §§ 149, 150, a satisfactory scheme of classification of the M.E. dialects presents very great difficulties. We have still to be content with a rough general grouping into Northern, West and East Midland, and Southern. Within these divisions we recognize the further distinctions of N.- and S.-West Midl.; N.- and S.-East Midl.; S. Western, and S. Eastern. In Central Southern we include the later dialect of London as a whole, and in S. Eastern we include Kentish, and the Early City type. Kentish, because it is represented by several texts, especially by the Ayenbite (extant in the author's handwriting), exhibiting a very consistent form of language and known to have been written at Canterbury in 1340, has engaged a degree of attention which is perhaps rather out of proportion to its importance in relation to the S.E. type. Several dialect features, notably the occurrence of \tilde{e} for original O.E. \tilde{y} , have been labelled 'Kentish', although they were by no means confined to the dialect of that county. Some of these features were current in the London dialect, where they have commonly been regarded as 'Kentish' elements, although they more probably passed into London speech through the City type, from Essex.

The dialect areas of the Midlands and South may be tenta-

tively sub-divided as follows.

I. WEST MIDLANDS.

A. N.-W. Midl. Sth. Lancs., Chesh., W. Derbysh., Staffs, Nth. and Central Shropsh.

B. Central W. Midl. Heref., Worcs., W. Warwcs. (as far E. roughly, as Coventry and Stratford), and possibly S. Shropsh. C. S.-W. Midl. Glos., W. Oxf. as far E. as Oxford itself.

2. CENTRAL MIDLANDS.

To the East of the large area occupied by the W. Midl. is a tract of country the dialect of which appears to form a speech unity of an intermediate character between West and East. This dialect area includes the Eastern part of Derbysh., Notts, Leics., Eastern part of Warwes., Northants. (excluding the extreme N.E. area in which is Peterborough), N. Oxf., and N. Bucks. This dialect-unity, which naturally includes subareas, appears to be neither definitely W. nor definitely E, in character, and to have none of the features which are exclusively characteristic of, and peculiar to, either of these areas. According to Miss Serjeantson, the dialects of this central area, while they have both \$\vec{t}\$ and \$\vec{u}\$ for O.E. \$\vec{v}\$ (\dagger 158), show no traces of the characteristic S.E. and S.-E. Midl. e; tense e for O.E. æ2 (§ 162), which is found from Suffolk to Kent, and sporadically in later London, does not occur here; O.E. 20 (§ 168) is always e, never u; such pronominal forms as ho, hore, hom are apparently foreign to these dialects, and so, apparently, is the Western -on for -an.

3. EAST MIDLANDS.

A. N.-E. Midl. All that part of Lincs. between the Humber and the Wash.

B. Central E. Midl. Rutland (?), Spalding division of

Lincs., Nth. Beds., Hunts, N. Cambr., Norf., N. Suff.

C. S.-E. Midl. Herts, S. Cambr., Suffolk, and probably N. Essex (Saffron Walden), though the latter should perhaps be considered as a border area, the dialect of which had both Midl and Sthn. features.

4. Southern Dialects.

A. S. West. (1) These include the speech of Devon, Somerset, Wilts., Dorset, Berks, Hants, Western Surrey, and that portion of S.-E. Oxf. which cuts into Berks, roughly from Dorchester to Caversham, and thence northwards to Henley.

(2) It is necessary to distinguish two areas of South Western:
(a) the extreme west, including Devon, Dorset, Somers., and another, (b) comprising Wilts., Hants, Berks, S.-E. Oxf. It is proposed to call the former FURTHER, the latter NEARER, Wessex.

B. Central Sthn. To this area belongs primarily the greater part of Middlesex, as distinguished from the City of London, on which see C, below. The recent investigations of Miss

Mackenzie, based on the place-name forms of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, make it quite clear that the early dialect of the county of Middlesex differed in its most characteristic phonological features from that of the City (see §§ 158, 160, 167, 168, 207). The Middlesex dialect, in fact, was not South Eastern, but Central Southern, and had far more affinity with more westerly areas, specifically with those of Nearer Wessex. This type is pretty well represented in the Lamb. Homs. and in Henry III's Proclamation (1258). We should note that in the extreme S.W. of the county, a heart-shaped portion of Bucks, about 8 miles wide near Uxbridge, but narrowing to a point at Staines, is all that separates Middlesex from the Berks border, the most easterly outpost of the S.W. dialect area. From this area must have come the only trace of specifically S.W. character, y (=i) for O.E. ĕa-i, which exists in London documents,

and that only in one or two forms in the earliest Ch. (See § 170.)

C. South Eastern. The whole of Essex exclusive of the district of Saffron Walden. Street, and other local names from the City of London, down at any rate to the middle of the fourteenth century, present some of the main phonological characters which distinguish the dialect of Essex. (Heuser: Alt-London, pp. 27, 28.) We must therefore regard the City of London as belonging to the South Eastern dialect area down to this period. After the middle of the fourteenth century, however, the specifically Essex character, even of the City, almost disappears (see §§ 167, 207). The dialect of Kent belongs to this area, but while it agrees with Essex in some particulars, e.g. ě for O.E. ž, it differs widely from this in many other important respects (§§ 202, 203). To this area also belong probably the eastern part of Surrey and part of Sussex. Concerning the dialect of the latter we have at present but scanty information.

D. London Dialect. We have seen (B and C, above) that in the earliest M.E. period the dialect of the City of London, so far as the evidence goes, was of quite a different type, at least in its phonological features, from that of the county of Middlesex. In the later periods these marked divergences seem to disappear, and the fourteenth-century forms of London streetnames, etc., agree on the whole with the place-name forms of Middlesex. The phonology of both of these agrees, generally, with that of literary texts written in London at this period. In this more or less uniform dialect, however, the typical Essex F for O.E. J survived to some extent. This is the feature formerly regarded as 'Kentish'. The dialect of Davy and Chaucer seems to be a natural development of the earlier Middlesex dialect. We find in the former, however, and still

more in the latter, certain features (e.g. Pres. Plurals in -en), which occur, it is true, though to a less extent, already in Lamb. Homs. and Henry III's Proclamation. These and other features. which are usually associated with the East Midland, have by the fourteenth century become normal in the regional dialect of Middlesex. They may quite possibly have encroached gradually through Herts. The remarkable frequency of & for O.E. y shown in Chaucer's rhymes may perhaps be a personal characteristic, attributable to some extent to the poet's City origin, or to his later residence in Greenwich. We should in any case expect to find ¿-forms in the City, and in those easterly parts of Middlesex which abut on Essex. We shall probably be nearer to the truth if we regard the dialect of London at the end of the fourteenth century as a naturally developed regional dialect, and inquire whether its characteristic combination of features may not be better explained by reference to those of the dialect areas immediately contiguous to it, rather than by the assumption that some of them have been imported from without, from regions with which London has no direct geographical contact. In the meantime it may be intimated that a study of the early dialect of Herts will probably throw new light on several problems which are now obscure. (See further, Heuser: Alt-London, pp. 45-56.)

A summary of the distinguishing features of the principal M.E. dialect types will be found on pp. 136-43 below, together with references to the sections where the points are specially

treated.

§ 152. M.E. Spelling and M.E. Sounds.

(1) It is essential to distinguish between the actual sounds of M.E. and the various methods of expressing these graphically. A change in spelling does not necessarily imply a change in pronunciation, though of course it sometimes may; neither does the retention of an older spelling unaltered necessarily prove that the sound remains the same. The history of English spelling is one thing, and the history of English pronunciation is quite another. From the point of view of the former it is of importance to record that O.E. ū in such words as hūs, mūs, etc., is written ou in M.E., owing to the habits of French scribes. But this fact is of no importance for the history of the sound, since this remained the same [u] for centuries after the new spelling was introduced, and when, perhaps in the fourteenth century, this sound was diphthongized, no further change was made in the mode of representing it. On the other hand, in tracing the history of sounds it is vital to state that the O.E. diphthong ea

in words like deap, heap 'crowd', etc., was monophthongized to [a] in most dialects before the end of the O.E. period (§ 97. 3, Note), although the old spelling was often retained in

the Early Transition and later periods.

(2) It must not be supposed that the pronunciation of the various vowels, when once the characteristic M.E. type peculiar to the several dialects was reached, remained unchanged during the whole M.E. period. Much work still remains to be done in determining the path of change pursued by the various vowels, and the approximate period at which each stage was reached, but there are certain occasional spellings occurring sporadically in M.E. texts which point to the probability that in many cases something very like the Modern sound of the vowels must have existed much earlier than was formerly supposed. This probability emerges from the evidence given in chap. VII on the Modern Period. If we are now compelled to put back some of the typically 'Modern' changes to an approximate date of a hundred or two hundred years earlier than was assumed for them until recently, this fact must affect our views of M.E. pronunciation, notably of that of Chaucer's day. If, for instance, early M.E. ā, in māken, etc., had been fully fronted by the first quarter of the fifteenth century, it is hardly possible that Chaucer can have still pronounced a full back $[\bar{a}]$. At any rate, before he died, in 1400, he must at least have heard the beginnings of something like the Modern type of pronunciation from the younger generation. We find such occasional spellings as sichen for O.E. sēcan 'to seek' in the earlier MS. of Lazamon's Brut (early thirteenth century), and ou is a frequent spelling for O.E. ō (bouk 'book' etc.) in widely separated dialects during the fourteenth century. spellings point to pronunciations closely resembling [ī, ū]. Now, if a pronunciation approaching the Modern type were established for these two vowels in M.E., this would bring many consequences, and would involve a re-statement of the whole account usually given of M.E. vowel pronunciation. (See on this point §§ 208, 213, below.) In the meantime, until M.E. pronunciation has been further investigated, it is as well to be cautious, and to continue to pronounce Chaucer as if his language were still pure M.E., that is, with so-called 'Continental' vowels. At the same time, the considerations just mentioned must be borne in mind. It must be remembered that to change the pronunciation of one or two vowels may involve changing all. If Chaucer said [būk] he can no longer have said [hūs] for 'house'; if he said [sīke] for sēke 'seek', he cannot also have pronounced [i] in wif 'wife', and so on.

An important M.E. sound-change was the gradual and progressive un-rounding of the front rounded vowels representing O.E. \tilde{y} and \tilde{eo} . The former of these remained at first in Middlesex, and was gradually un-rounded to \tilde{i} . The latter had become $[\sigma]$, which is shown to have survived at first in the London area, west of the City, by not infrequent spellings such as eo, o, u. After the beginning of the fourteenth century there appears to be no trace of these spellings in the documents from this area, showing presumably that the un-rounding was complete.

§ 153. Changes in Spelling which are purely Graphic.

A. Vowels.

O.E. J. The O.E. high-front-tense-round, so far as it survived in M.E. (cp. § 158 (c)), is never written y after the twelfth century, e.g. Holy Rd. Tree, but with the French symbol u: e.g. sunn 'sin', O.E. synn; muchel 'great', O.E. myčel. When long, it is frequently expressed by ui: huiren vb. 'hear',

Late W.Sax. hyran; fuir 'fire', O.E. fyr.

The symbol y no longer expressed a rounded vowel, but simply [i] in Early Transition. Thus in the latter part of Peterborough Chronicle, we may assume an un-rounded vowel in yuel 'evil', and fylden 'filled', for O.E. y had certainly long since been un-rounded in this E. Midl. dialect, and because this very text writes y for old i, as in wrythen 'twisted', Pret. Pl., O.E. wripon; gyuen Inf. 'to give'; myhtes 'thou mightest'.

OE. \bar{u} . In order to distinguish this from old \bar{y} , now often spelt u, it is written habitually ou by French scribes, and later, by every one: e.g. hous, O.E. hūs; bour 'dwelling',

O.E. būr.

O.E. ü. In the neighbourhood of the letters v, u, w, n, m, this sound, which remained unchanged, is often written o, purely for the sake of distinctness to the eye, e.g. sone 'son', O.E. sunu; comen P.P. 'come', O.E. cumen. In N.Fr. old -on had become [un] in pronunciation.

B. The Consonants.

O.E. c = back voiceless stop, generally preserved initially, before back vowels: cot, comen 'come', but written k before front vowels: king, $k\bar{e}pen$ 'keep'. Domesday Book, entirely the work of foreign scribes, constantly writes ch for initial c (k) in English names, e.g. Chenulueslei, O.E. $C\bar{e}nwulfesl\bar{e}ah$ 'Knowsley'. ch in D.B. always stands for the back voiceless stop.

Medially, and finally, this sound is written k, ck, c.

The O.E. combination cw is written with the French symbol q+u, hence queen, O.E. cwen, etc. ku, cu, etc., are also written.

O.E. c. As early as the twelfth century, some Sthn. texts write ch for this sound, in all positions—chald 'cold'; sechen 'seek', O.E. sēcan; ich 'I', O.E. ic. The earliest Transition texts still write c. In later M.E. cch and tch are written

medially-wretche, lacchen 'catch'.

O.E. 5 or z. These are the only forms of the letter used in O.E., but the latter part of the Peterborough Chronicle, written in the twelfth century, uses what is known as the Continental form of the letter, which is approximately that of our g. The Chronicle, and some other early Transition texts, e.g. Genesis and Exodus, use this symbol g exclusively for O.E. 3 whether it expresses a back or front consonant, stop or open-so that we get even gung for O.E. zeong.

Later on, the more careful scribes use g and 3, a modified form of O.E. 3, and distinguish systematically between back and front sounds. The following are the typical M.E. ways of expressing the various sounds expressed by O.E. 3 and cg:

(1) Back-open-voiced consonant (O.E. 3) is written gh, and 3h: burgh, O.E. burg; laghe 'law', O.E. lazu, etc.

[This symbol (gh), as well as h, hh, is used also for the voiceless open sound.]

(2) Back Stop (O.E. 3) is written g: god, god 'good',

Orm, who was a mediæval spelling reformer, invented a special symbol, y, for the stop, and uses it in words such as the above.

(3) Front Stop (O.E. cg). This only occurred medially and finally in O.E. words. In M.E. it is written gg by Orm and most other scribes, though sometimes g alone is written: seggen 'say', O.E. secgan; rugg, O.E. hrycg 'back'. In French words the sound occurred initially in such words as juge 'judge', and in these words the spelling j is generally retained, though g is occasionally written. When the sound occurs medially it was, in late M.E., not infrequently written dg as at the present day: bridge, etc.

(4) Front-open-voiced consonant (O.E. z). The modified form 3 of the O.E. symbol is used in a large number of texts quite systematically for this sound: 3er, O.E. ger 'year'; zeuen, O.E. żefan 'give', etc. Later M.E. texts use y-

yere, etc.

- O.E. f written v or u. This, as a systematic habit, was an innovation of the French scribes, though there are traces in some O.E. texts of u to express a voiced sound between vowels. In the Southern area of M.E. the O.E. f was voiced initially, and we consequently find such spellings as vox, uox 'fox', vuir 'fire', O.E. $f\overline{y}r$, with fair consistency. Medially, between vowels, the sound was voiced in all dialects, and we find therefore uvel, ivel, etc., O.E. yfel 'evil'; ouer, O.E. ofer 'over', etc. Since the forms of u and v were often confused, we constantly find such spellings as vuel 'evil' = [yvel] instead of uvel.
- O.E. s written c. This is habitual in French words, and the usage is applied also to English words: seldcene, O.E. seldsēne 'rare': alce, O.E. alswa.
- O.E. voiced s written z. Spelling with initial z is typical of Kentish texts, in which dialect O.E. s must have been voiced in this position: sayp 'says', O.E. seg(e)p; sope 'true', O.E. sop; swete 'sweet', O.E. swete, etc.
- O.E. sc is written sch, ss, sh: schal, schencken 'grant', ssolde 'should', issote 'shot', shawenn, etc.

The subject of M.E. spelling will be further considered later on, in dealing specifically with the sounds themselves and their changes.

§ 154. Illustrative Middle English Texts.

The following select list of M.E. texts will be found fairly representative of the various dialects and periods. Most of them are referred to in the account given below of the development of Sounds and Accidence in M.E. A useful illustrative selection of texts, dating from 1150 to 1390 is contained in Morris and Skeat's Specimens of Early English, Parts I and II, and others in MacLean's Old and Middle English Reader, Macmillan, 1893; of more recent collections we may note Emerson's Middle English Reader, Macmillan, 1909; Hall's Early M.E. Reader, 2 pts. Oxford, 1920; Sisam, Fourteenth Century Verse and Prose, Oxford, 1921; Carleton Brown's English Lyrics of the Fourteenth Century, Oxford, 1924. Scotch texts, though mainly of the Early Modern Period, are well illustrated in Gregory Smith's Specimens of Middle Scots, Blackwood, 1902. Valuable examples of Late M.E. and early Mod. texts (1384-1579) are to be found in Skeat's Specimens of English Literature.

Most of the texts enumerated below are published by the Early English Text Society; when this is not the case, it will

be indicated. When selections occur in any of the above collections, this is also indicated. Several very important Early M.E. texts are contained in An Old English Miscellany, ed. R. Morris, E.E.T.S., 1872; and the chief groups of Early M.E. Homilies are to be found in two vols. known as Old English Homilies, 1st and 2nd Series, E.E.T.S., 1868 and 1873 respectively, by the same editor. The presence of a text in either of these collections is indicated by the words O.E. Homs. or O.E. Misc. placed after the name in the list.

I. M.E. Northern Texts.

Northern Legends. 1275. Ed. Horstmann, 1881.

Nthn. Metrical Psalter. Before 1300. Surtees Society, 1843-47. Extracts in Specimens.

Cursor Mundi. 1300. Extracts in Specimens, and Mac-

Lean's Reader.

Nthn. Metrical Homilies. 1330. Ed. Small, Edinburgh,

1862. Extracts in Specimens.

Richd. Rolle de Hampole's Pricke of Conscience. Before 1349. Ed. R. Morris, 1863. Extracts in Specimens, and Maetzner's ae. Sprachproben.

Minot's Songs. 1339-52. Ed. Scholle, Quellen und Forschungen, lii, 1884, and Hall, Oxford, 1887. Extracts in

Specimens.

II. Scotch Texts.

Barbour's Bruce. 1375. Ed. Skeat, E.E.T.S., 1870. Extracts in Specimens, and MacLean. (The oldest MS., G. 23, St. John's Coll., Cambridge, was not written till 1487.)

Ratis Raving. First half of fifteenth century. Ed. Lumby,

E.E.T.S., 1870.

The Taill of Rauf Coilyear. 1456-81. Ed. S. J. H. Herrtage, E.E.T.S., 1882.

III. Midland.

I. EAST MIDLAND.

A. North East Midland.

Peterborough Chronicle. 1121-54. (Laud MS.) Plummer, Two A.-S. Chronicles. Extracts in Specimens and Hall's Early M.E.

Ormulum. c. 1200. Ed. White, 1852, 2 vols., and Holt, 1878, 2 vols. Extracts in Specimens and Hall's Early M.E.

Bestiary. c. 1250. In O.E. Misc. Extracts in Specimens

and Hall's Early M.E. (Norfolk.)

Genesis and Exodus. c. 1250. Ed. Morris, E.E.T.S. Revised 1873. Extracts in Specimens and Hall's Early M.E. (Norfolk.)

Havelok the Dane. 1300. Ed. Holthausen, Heidelberg, 1901; Skeat, Oxford, 1902. Extracts in Specimens. (Lincoln.)

Robt. of Brunne's Handlyng Synne. 1300-30. Ed. Furnivall, Roxburghe Club, 1862. Re-ed., Pt. I, 1901, Pt. II, 1903. Extracts in Specimens. (Lincoln.)

Norfolk Guilds. 1389. In English Guilds, ed. Lucy Toul-

min Smith, E.E.T.S., 1870.

B. South East Midland.

Osbern Bokenam's Lives of Saints. Fl. 1370-1450. (MS. c. 1443.) Ed. Horstmann, Heilbronn, 1883. (Suffolk.)

2. CENTRAL MIDLAND.

A. North Central Midland.

Knyghton's Chronicle. 1381. English addresses in the Chronicon of Henry Knyghton of Leicester. Ed. Rolls Series 2, pp. 138, ff.

Parlement of the Three Ages. 15th c. Ed. Gollancz, Select

Early English Poems, 1915.

Winner and Waster. 15th c. Ed. Gollancz, Select Early English Poems.

B. South Central Midland.

Earliest Complete English Prose Psalter. c. 1340. Ed. Bülbring, E.E.T.S., 97.

This text, hitherto claimed as exhibiting the W. Midl. dialect, has been shown by Miss Serjeantson to contain no typical W. Midl. features at all. A strong case has been made out by Miss Serjeantson for assigning it to Northants. See English Studies, 1924.

Coventry Leet Book. From 1421. Ed. Harris, E.E.T.S. 1901.

3. WEST MIDLAND.

A. North West Midland.

Compassio Mariae. c. 1250. Ed. Napier, E.E.T.S. 103. (? Cheshire.)

Wooing of our Lord. 1210. O.E. Homilies, I. Extracts in Specimens. (MS. Cot. Titus. D. 18.)

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Sir Gawain and the Green Knight. 1350-1400. Re-ed. Gollancz, E.E.T.S. 1920, etc.; Tolkien and Gordon, Clarendon Press, 1925. The latter edition has a very full glossary and copious notes. (Generally assigned to Lancs., though there are grave reasons against this. See § 172 II.)

Alliterative Poems. 1350-1400. Ed. Morris (2nd Ed.)

1869.

Romances of the Ireland MS. c. 1400-13. Ed. Robson,

Camden Soc. 1842. (Lancs.)

St. Erkenwald. 15th c. Ed. Gollancz, Select Early English Poems, 1922.

Lay Folks' Mass Book. c. 1440. (MS. Gonville and Caius

Coll. Cbg. 84.) Ed. Simmons, E.E.T.S. 71, 1879.

Myrc's Instructions for Parish Priests. c. 1450. Ed. Peacock, E.E.T.S. (Revised) 1902. (Shropshire.)

John Audelay's Poems. c. 1426. Percy Society, vol. xiv,

1844. (Shropshire.)

William of Palerne. 1350. Ed. Skeat, E.E.T.S. (E.S.) 1867, 1. Usually regarded as W. Midl. (Possibly a North Centr. Midl. copy of a S.W. Midl. original.)

B. Central West Midland.

Worcester Fragments. c. 1180. In Hall's Early Middle English.

Lazamon A. c. 1205. (MS. Cot. Calig. A. ix.) Ed. Madden, 1867. (N.W. Worcs.) See Hall, Early M.E. Vol. i.

For Lazamon B. see C. below.

Ancren Riwle. c. 1230-50. (MS. Nero A. xiv.) Ed. Morton, Camden Soc. 1853.

The dialect of Ancren Riwle in MS. Cleopatra C. vi is practically identical with that of the Catherine Group (see I. Williams, Anglia 28), probably that of North Herefordshire; that of MS. Nero A. xiv, on the other hand, is in many respects different, and may probably be assigned to S. Worcs. A. R. was long considered as Sthrn., chiefly, probably, on account of u for O.E. y $(\tilde{u}-i)$. This feature is now known to be also West and Central Midland. Cp. § 158. (c).

God Ureisun. c. 1230-50. O.E. Homs. I. Extracts in

Specimens.

Catherine Group. c. 1230-50. (Legends of St. Juliana, ed. Cockayne, E.E.T.S., 1872; St. Margaret, ed. Cockayne, E.E.T.S. 1866; St. Catherine, ed. E. Einenkel, E.E.T.S., 1884.) (Heref.)

Sawles Ward. c. 1230-50. O.E. Homs. I. Hall, Early M.E. (Heref.)

English Poems of MS. Harley 2253. 1310. Ed. Böddeker,

Altenglische Dichtungen, Berlin, 1878. (Heref.)

Poems of William Herbert. c. 1333. In Carleton Brown, Religious Lyrics of the 14th century, Oxford, 1924. (Heref.) Joseph of Arimathie. 1350. Ed. Skeat, E.E.T.S., 1871.

C. South West Midland.

Lazamon B. c. 1250. (MS. Cot. Otho C. xiii.) Ed. Madden, 1867. See Hall, Early M.E. (S. Glos.)

Southern Legendary. c. 1280-90. (MS. Laud 108.) Ed.

Horstmann, E.E.T.S. 87. (? N.W. Wilts.)

St. Brandan. c. 1300. (MS. Harley 2277.) Ed. Wright, Percy Soc., 1844.

Life of Thomas Beket. c. 1300. (MS. Harl. 2277.) Ed.

Black, Percy Soc., 1845.

St. Juliana. (Metrical.) c. 1300. (MS. Ashmole 43.) Ed.

Cockayne, E.E.T.S., 51, 1872.

Robert of Gloucester. (Metrical Chronicle.) c. 1320-30. Ed. Wright, Rolls Series, 1887. 2 vols. Extracts in Specimens.

Trevisa. (Translation of Higden's Polychronicon.) 1387. Ed. Babington (vols. i and ii), and Lumby (vols. iii-ix), Rolls Series, 1865-86. Extracts in Specimens.

IV. Southern

1. SOUTH EASTERN.

A. Kent and East Surrey.

Kentish Gospels. 1150. In Skeat's Gospels in Anglo-Saxon.

Kentish Homilies. 1150. (MS. Vespasian A. 22.) O.E. Homs. I. 217-43. Extracts in Specimens.

Kentish Sermons. Before 1250. (MS. Laud 471.) O.E. Misc. 20-36.

William of Shoreham's Poems. 1307. Ed. Conrath, E.E.T.S., 1902. Extracts in Specimens.

Azenbite of Inwyt. 1340. Ed. Morris, E.E.T.S., 1866. Extracts in Specimens.

B. Essex and City of London.

Vices and Virtues. c. 1200. Ed. Holthausen, E.E.T.S., 1888. May with great probability be assigned to N.E. Essex, to the neighbourhood of Saffron Walden.

Place-Names, Street-Names, etc., in early City Documents (see Heuser, Alt. London, and Mackenzie, Early London Dial.). ? Original text of King Horn. (Essex?) Ed. Hall, Clarendon

Press, 1901.

2. CENTRAL SOUTHERN.

A. London including Westminster and Middlesex.

Charter of London, by the King William the Conqueror (1066). In Liebermann, Gesetze d. Angelsachsen, i. 486.

Proclamation of Henry III. 1258. In Ellis's Early English Pronunciation, Pt. II, pp. 501, etc. Emerson, M.E. Reader, p. 226.

Adam Davie's Five Dreams. c. 1307-27. Ed. Furnivall,

E.E.T.S., 1878.

London English, 1384-1425. Ed. R. W. Chambers and M. Daunt, in the press. (A collection of original documents.)

London Charters and Documents (1). From 1384-c. 1450. See account given in Morsbach, Englische Schriftsprache, 1888.

London Charters and Documents (2). From 1430-1500. See account in Lekebusch, Londoner Urkundensprache, 1906.

History of St. Bartholomew's Church. MS. c. 1400. Ed. Sir Norman Moore, E.E.T.S. 1923.

B. Middlesex with appreciable influence of City type.

Trinity (Cambridge) Homilies. Before 1200. O.E. Homs. II. Ed. Morris, E.E.T.S., 1873. Extracts in Specimens and Hall's Early M.E.

Lambeth Homilies. Before 1200. O.E. Homs. I, 1-182. Ed. Morris, E.E.T.S., 1868. Extracts in Specimens and

Hall's Early M.E.

On the dialect of the Lambeth and Trinity Homilies, see

Wyld, Essays and Studies, vi, pp. 136-39.

Westminster Charters. (a) MS. Cott. Faustina A. iii (early thirteenth century), and (b) various MSS. c. 1100; (a) in Kemble, Codex Dipl., nearly all in vol. iv; one in vol. v, and, together with (b) in Neufeldt, Z. Spr. d. Urkundenb. v. Westminster; Berlin, 1907.

3. SOUTH WESTERN.

History of Holy Rood Tree. 1170. Ed. Napier, E.E.T.S.,

1894.

Moral Ode or Poema Morale. (Egerton MS.) c. 1200. Other versions, from Trinity, Lambeth, and Jesus MSS in O.E. Misc. and Specimens. Egerton MS. printed in MacLean, O.E. Homs. I, and Hall, Early M.E. (Lamb. and Trinity also in the last.) Critical text by Lewin, Halle, 1881.

Owl and Nightingale. (Surrey.) 1246-50. O.E. Misc. Extracts in Specimens and Hall's Early M.E. Ed. Wells,

Belles Lettres Series, 1909 (revised).

Chertsey Cartulary. (Surrey.) Written c. 1259-80. (MS. Cot. Vitellius A. xiii.) In Kemble's Codex Dipl. Nos. 151, 222 (vol. i), 812, 844, 848, 849, 850, 856 (vol. iv), 986, 987, 988 (vol. v). Nos. 844, 848, 849, 850 are in English. No. 987, in Latin but with boundaries in English, is the most important. The documents are copies of earlier charters, but the language is on the whole that of the time the MS. was written.

Proverbs of Alfred. 1250. O.E. Misc. 102-38. Extracts in Specimens, and Hall's Early M.E. Ed. Skeat, Oxford, 1907, and Borgström, Lund, 1908.

Winchester Usages. 14th c. In English Guilds, ed.

Lucy Toulmin Smith, E.E.T.S., 1870.

St Editha. 1420. (Wiltshire.) Ed. Horstmann, Heilbronn, 1883.

V. Literary English.

Chaucer's Works, Ed. Skeat, Complete Works, in 6 vols., also in one vol. Oxford.

Gower's Confessio Amantis. Ed. Macaulay, in Complete Works, Oxford; and Selections from C.A. Oxford, 1903. (Has marked Kentish features.)

Hoccleve. 1400. Minor Poems, ed. F. Furnivall, E.E.T.S., 1892; Regiment of Princes, Furnivall, E.E.T.S., 1899. Short

Extracts in Skeat's Specimens of Engl. Lit.

Lydgate. c. 1420. Troy Book, ed. Bergen, E.E.T.S., I and II, 1906; III, 1908; IV, V, 1910; Temple of Glass, ed. J. Schick, E.E.T.S., 1891; London Lickpenny, and Extracts from Storie of Thebes in Skeat's Specimens. Shows marked Suffolk characteristics.

John Capgrave's Chronicle. Ed. F. C. Hingeston, Rolls Series, 1858.



Caxton, Historyes of Troye. Extracts in Skeat's Specimens, III.

§ 155. The Treatment of O.E. Sounds in M.E.

The changes which befell the old vowel sounds in M.E. fall under the two main heads—Quantitative, and Qualitative. The former class of changes involves the lengthening of original short vowels, and the shortening of vowels originally long, under conditions which it will be our business to describe. The latter category of changes involves an alteration of the actual nature and quality of the vowel sound without any change of quantity.

The Quantitative changes are as important as the Qualitative, and their results in the subsequent history of English

are far-reaching.

Our ideas concerning the nature and quality of M.E. sounds are based (1) upon the spelling in the various texts; (2) upon comparison (a) with O.E., (b) with Mod. Engl., (c) with other forms of Germanic speech; (3) upon the character of Rhymes in M.E.; (4) upon occasional phonetic spellings in M.E., and upon still more of these in the fifteenth century; (5) upon the contemporary descriptions of the pronunciation of English in the sixteenth century, when many M.E. vowel quantities, though not the sounds themselves, still remained unaltered; (6) upon the spelling adopted by Orm, which throws great light on M.E. quantity. Orm systematically writes a consonant single after a long vowel, and doubles it after a short—child, chilldre etc. He also sometimes marks short vowels—gŏd, etc.

Qualitative Vowel Changes in M.E. Simple Vowels. § 156. The Rounding of O.E. ā to ō:

This change is shown by the spellings o and occasionally oa, later on, to have taken place in some dialects at least as early as the middle of the twelfth century, since there are examples of δ spellings already in the Peterborough Chronicle. The rounding of \bar{a} ultimately involved all the dialects of the South and Midlands, but it is pretty certain that it did not begin everywhere at the same time.

Since the Norman-French loan-words in M.E. retain their long \bar{a} unchanged, e.g. $d\bar{a}me$, $f\bar{a}me$, $gr\bar{a}ve$, it is clear that the O.E. \bar{a} in $h\bar{a}m$, $st\bar{a}n$, $hl\bar{a}f$ loaf, etc., etc., must have undergone some slight rounding before these foreign words got into the language; otherwise, had the process begun later, it must have involved them as well.

The Peterborough Chronicle (E. Midland 1154) has the form more, O.E. mara (four times); the Kt. Homilies (Vesp. A. 22) before 1150 have a few of forms, o3e, and o3en, but a enormously preponderates. The Holy Rood Tree (1170), Trinity Homilies (before 1200), Lambeth Homilies (before 1200), Prose Life of St. Juliana (1210), Wooing of our Lord (1210), all Southern texts, have no o-spellings. Other Southern or S. Midl. texts of about the same date have o, either occasionally or exclusively. Poema Morale (Egerton MS. before 1200)—ore grace, O.E. ar; lore, more, wot knows, O.E. wat, etc., but also many a-spellings—are, mare, wat, etc.; God Ureisun of ure lauerd (1212)—holie, one; Ancren Riwle (1225), Metrical Life of St. Juliana (1300) have of throughout.

Of the other earliest Midland texts, the East Midland Ormulum (1200) has a throughout, while the S.W. Midland Lazamon has even in the early MS. (c. 1205) occasional o, and the later (1250) has generally o; Genesis and Exodus, and

Bestiary (E. Midl. 1250) both have regularly o.

These statistics show that the change must have begun at least well before the middle of the twelfth century, though its results were not consistently nor universally expressed by the spelling before the first quarter of the thirteenth century. The two forms in the Chronicle can hardly be accidental, but it is rather remarkable that the later E. Midl. Ormulum, so careful in its spelling, should give no indications of it. The Southern texts mentioned, except the Vespasian Homilies, which are Kentish, are all from the South-West, and they appear to be slightly behind the former in writing o. It may perhaps be argued that the rounding began slightly earlier in the Sth-East than elsewhere.

Under the rounding of O.E. \bar{a} we must include that of \bar{a} in the Anglian combination $-\bar{a}ld$, in $\bar{a}ld$, $c\bar{a}ld$, $h\bar{a}ldan$, $b\bar{a}ld$. The forms $\bar{o}ld$, $c\bar{o}ld$, $h\bar{o}lden$, $b\bar{o}ld$, appear in Midland and even in some Sthn. texts in the middle of the twelfth century. They soon oust the typical native forms in the Sth.-Western dialects

and even gain a footing in Kentish. (See §§ 165-6.)

§ 157. O.E. a in the Northern Dialects.

In the Northern Dialects of England, and in Scotch English, no rounding takes place. Many texts preserve the symbol a unaltered in the M.E. period—ham, stan, etc.; others, especially in the fourteenth century, write ai in words of this class. As regards the sound, this must have been advanced, and fronted to [\$\overline{a}\$] pretty early, and this was subsequently raised to [\$\overline{e}\$]

and [e]. Modern North English and Scotch dialects have [e]

or [I] as a representative of O.E. ā.

It is impossible to say with anything like certainty when the fronting process began. For one thing, our Northern texts only begin with the end of the thirteenth century or the beginning of the fourteenth. The rhymes of the fourteenth-century Scotch texts, however, make it certain that by that period the fronting was complete, and probable that the vowel had already been raised to a mid-front. It further is apparent from the earliest M.E. Northern texts that O.E. a and Norman-French a, and O.E. a in open syllables were levelled under the same sound. The Scotch texts from Barbour onwards constantly write ai, ay, e.g. fayis 'foes', tais 'toes', raid, O.E. rād 'rode'.

- (a) Rhymes of O.E. ā with O.E. lengthened ă: Metr. Ps., 1300: mare—ouerfare; Sunday Homilies in Verse, 1300: schāthe—lāthe; Hampole, 1340: wāte (pl. vb.)—late; bāre (adj.)—sāre; Barbour's Bruce (1375): hāle 'whole' rhymes with douglasdale, braid 'broad' rhymes with maid 'made'.
- (b) Rhymes of O.E. ā with Fr.ā: Bruce rhymes blāme with schame (O.E. ă-) and the latter with hame 'home'.
- (c) Rhymes which show the fronting of O.E. â: Hampole: māre—ware, O.E. wēre 'were' subj.; Bruce: gais 'goes'—wes 'was'; mair, O.E. mār—thair, O.E. pēr.

NOTE. Chaucer, Reeve's Tale, 158, puts geen, P.P. (O.E. gegān), into the mouth of Alleyn the Scottish scholar.

§ 158. The Treatment of O.E. $\check{\mathbf{y}}$ (i-Mutation of $\check{\mathbf{u}}$, §§ 108-9).

- (a) In the North, including Yorks., and in the East Midlands, including Lincoln, Hunts., Norf., and part of Suff., O.E. \tilde{y} is unrounded, probably in the late O.E. period. M.E. texts from these areas write i, or y, for the original $[\tilde{y}]$ sound, e.g. Orm, and Gen. and Ex.
- (b) In the Q.E. period, O.E. \tilde{y} had become \tilde{e} in Kent and Suffolk (cf. § 142). In S.E. and S.E. Midl. texts of the M.E. period these sounds continue, and are written in the old way. The evidence of Pl. Ns., however, of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries shows that by this time the e-forms were the prevailing ones in Essex no less than in Kent, and they are found also in varying degrees of frequency in Sussex and Suffolk, in the Lynn area in extreme East of Norf. (Guild of S. Thomas of Lynn), and Pl. Ns. fr. this area (Mackenzie, Lond. Dial., § 365 (a)), and to some slight extent in Cambridgeshire also. There are traces of these forms in texts from S. Lincs.

(R. of Brunne), Northants (Peterb. Chron.), Suffolk (Bokenam and Bury Wills). The early Nth. Essex text, Vices and Virtues, has e as the prevailing form, by the side of several i-forms and a few u, while the fifteenth-century Palladius, also Essex, though influenced by London English, has some traces of e-forms.

- (c) In by far the greater part of England, that is to say in the whole of the West Midlands, and Central Midlands, south of Yorkshire, and in all the Southern Counties apart from those mentioned under (b) above, and with the qualification stated below, O.E. ½ remains with, approximately, its original sound, at any rate well into the fifteenth century. From a very early period, at least as early as 1170 or so, the French spelling u is used for the old sound, and later, this, with occasional o, becomes the exclusive mode of representing it when short. When long it is frequently written ui, uy.
- (d) From the forms of Pl. Ns. containing such elements as O.E. hyll, byrig, pytt, $l\bar{y}tel$, etc., etc., it would seem that there was also an area in the extreme South-West, starting probably in Devon, where isolative unrounding of O.E. \tilde{y} took place in the M.E. period, if not before.

(e) The London area. The early street and other names from the City of London (1200-1350) agree with the Essex type in having e as the characteristic form; Westm. Ch. have i (sometimes written y) as the prevailing form, but have a few written u, geburap, furmest, munstre, in both texts; the only

trace of e seems to be gripbreche in the later text.

In Lamb. Hom. u distinctly predominates but there are a few i-forms-unafillendliche, bincheb, kinesetle, etc.; in Trin. Hom. i and u appear to be pretty equally divided, and there are a few e-forms - senne, kenne, werse, werchende; the Prosl. of Hen. III has only one example of O.E. y, and that is spelt u-kuncriche; Davy writes only y, or i; Chaucer's rhymes show a larger proportion of e-forms than is usual in London documents of his period, which may be due either to a survival in his speech of the older City type, or to his later residence in Kent; it is impossible to be sure whether, apart from the e-forms, Chaucer favoured the i-, or the rounded type; Petition of Folk in Mercery has very few words of this class: hidynges, hidde, but lust vb.; Hoccleve has i as the predominating form, with a few e- and a few u- spellings-velthy, mery, beriad, themel, etc.; suche, burdon, cusse 'kiss', n., on anal. of vb. The Hist. of S. Bartholm. Church (1400) generally writes i, or y, but has a few e-spellings, kechyn, mery, sterid, schete, etc., and an almost negligible number of u's, e.g. sundry.

The Pl. Ns. of the County of Middlesex have predominating *i*, side by side with a few *u*-spellings, but no *e*-forms, during the same periods in which the latter appear to be the leading type in the City documents. The central and more westerly areas of Middlesex appear to have unrounded O.E. \tilde{j} by the early thirteenth century, and the Herts. border as far as S. Albans seems to have shared this early unrounding process. Other areas of Herts., according to Miss Mackenzie, retained the old round vowel, and the rounded type penetrated later to the southern border, and across this into Middlesex. This is probably the explanation of the not infrequent *u*-spellings in some of the later London documents, some of which survive to the present-day standard. See Mackenzie, Lond. Dial., §§ 322-7.

To sum up, the e-forms which occur in the later literary and standard spoken dialect may be regarded as survivals of the City type, which was virtually identical with the Essex dialect. Thus, in this respect Chaucer, to judge by his rhymes, distinctly

favours the City type.

(\dot{c} , $\dot{c}\dot{g}$, $s\dot{c}$), which took place in O.E. (cp. § 122 above), can be clearly traced in M.E., especially in Pl. N. forms. From these sources it is possible to localize the process more definitely than was possible in O.E. texts. The words $my\dot{c}e$, $bry\dot{c}\dot{g}$, $rys\dot{c}$, etc., appear as michel, brigge, rissche, etc., with the greatest frequency, especially in the u-areas of the S.-West, Devonshire, Dorset, Wilts., Somerset; with less frequency in Hants, and hardly at all in Glos. and Surrey. In the latter areas, muchel, brugge, etc., are the prevailing forms, and this is true also of the u-areas in the Midlands.

NOTE. The view of Kluge (Paul's Grundr. i, p. 1046) that at a certain period, in an area not clearly defined, O.E. y was retracted before front cons. [tf, dx, f] to the corresponding back vowel, should be mentioned. In this way Kluge explains the mod. forms cudgel, rush, etc., which, according to hitherto received views, should be *kidgel, *rish, etc. He calls the process 'Ruckumlaut'.

§ 159. The occurrence of both i- and u- spellings, often for the same word, in the same text, and in Pl. N. forms of the same area, may best be explained by assuming a progressive unrounding of O.E. \tilde{y} , a process which started in the East and gradually spread Westwards till the tendency apparently died out. Perhaps the E. border of Berks., i.e. Surrey and E. Hants, may be regarded as the westward limit of the unrounding. Westward and Sth. of this, it looks as if we had a genuine u-area, in which rounding persisted, till we reach the i-area in

the extreme W. To the N. we have a broad Central and W.Midl. belt of u-area which includes the N. part of Herts. In most of the old u-areas proper, the i-type later on ousted the native forms. This tendency of gradual unrounding probably ceased altogether before the end of the fifteenth century. After that, i- forms may penetrate from other areas, but are no longer developed by the natural process. The sporadic u-spellings in thirteenth and early fourteenth century London and Middles. may imply that the existence of slightly different degrees of unrounding among different speakers, at the same time, led to a hesitation among the scribes in writing the partially rounded vowel. I now agree with Heuser therefore, in accepting the view of progressive unrounding of O.E. y in certain areas, including London and Middles., but apparently still differ from him, in holding to the existence of other 'genuine' u-areas, in which I think unrounding did not occur at all. The gradual unrounding of y is in my view comparable to that of the other M.E. front round vowel, , from O.E. ea, see § 168. On the distribution of the various types of O.E. y in M.E. see Wyld, Essays and Studies, VI, pp. 112, etc.; Luick, Hist. Gr., § 183, Anm. 2; Heuser, Alt-London, p. 50, etc.; and Brandl, Z. Geogr. d. Altengl. Dialekte; and above all, now, Mackenzie, Lond. Dial., §§ 355-8.

§ 160. Treatment of O.E. ž.

(1) In O.E, it will be remembered that z remains in spelling, and perhaps to a great extent also in pronunciation, in W.S. and Northumbrian consistently, also in part of the Mercian area, while it is raised to & already in Early Kentish, and in the Mercian dialect represented by the Vesp. Ps. (cp. § 137). The Early Transition texts of the Sth.-West, on the whole, preserve a front vowel, variously written e, z, and (occasionally) ea. [Cp. §§ 97, Note, and 120, Note, concerning probable raising of & in L. W.S.]. The Midland texts of the same date invariably have a, showing that æ was retracted to a back vowel. The E. Midl. Peterb. Chron. writes æ, and e, but is still much influenced by the earlier spelling; a, nevertheless, is frequent in the later parts of this text; Orm, however, and the E. Midl. Bestiary, and Gen. and Ex. have a throughout. The early thirteenth-century Wooing of our Lord (Sthn.) has a throughout, and this feature has presumably come in from the Midl. type. After the beginning of the fourteenth century, pure Sthn. texts have a, which can hardly be a true phonetic development from e, but must indicate that the Midland type has spread over the Sthn. area as well, to the extinction of the true Sthn. type. A few statistics of the spellings of the Sthn. texts are desirable. H. Rd. Tree (circa 1170) generally writes x, occasionally e, and once ea: bead, O.E. bxd, and, after w, a: water; God Ureisun (1210), e: gled, efter, etc.; Poema Morale (Egerton MS. circa 1200), e: wetere, hedde, O.E. hxfde, hwet, also xfter; Ancren Riwle (1225), generally e: efter, feder 'father', et'at', pet, epple 'apple', etc., but also blac, bac, hwat, etc. Owl and Nightingale (W. Surrey, c. 1270) and Chertsey Ch. of about same date, both have usually a, but retain a few e-spellings. The Metrical Version of the Life of St. Juliana (1300) has a throughout: wat, quap, zaf, was, glade, etc.; Trevisa (1387) almost always writes a: pat, blak, gladlych, schal, etc., but creftes; St. Editha (c. 1420) has always a. The Essex Vices and Virtues (c. 1200) has only a: fader, after, scal, cwat, smac, etc.

The Catherine Group, Centr.W. Midl., have e frequently.

(2) In the London area we find two quite different types in the early M.E. period, the Eastern or City type which agrees with that of Essex, and the more central and westerly dialect which originally had e. Thus in the early City names, as in Essex, we get only a, with, apparently, no trace of e; in Westm. Ch., according to Miss Mackenzie (Lond. Dial., § 30), about threequarters of the entire number of O.E. æ-words in the text have a, and the remaining quarter e (also written æ), this minority including biqued, hebbe, des; the Middles. Pl. Ns. are rather inconclusive, but e-spellings occur down to the middle of the twelfth century-e.g. et grenanforde in a Ch. dated 845, Birch. II, p. 29; Heselingfeld (near Stepney, Ch. of Hen. II in Dugd.ii. 85; Mackenzie, § 36); Exeforde Inq. P.M., vol. III, p. 60 (1293), Mod. Ashford, nr. Staines; Trin. Hom. has at least twice as many a- as e-forms; while Lamb. Hom. has at least twice as many e-forms as a-forms. In the fourteenth century there appear to be no e-spellings in any London or Middles. document; the City or Eastern type has won the day.

We may sum up the history of O.E. ž in M.E. as follows. It was retracted to ž in Essex and in the Midlands and North quite early, perhaps in Late O.E. itself. In the Sthn. dialects, other than Kentish, where the raising took place in the ninth century, ž was raised to ž (mid-front-slack) in Early Transition English, or before, and remained, in this speech-area, until it gave place to the Midland or Essex ž late in the thirteenth

(3) In Kentish the O.E. E-type survives longer, though even here we find a few ă-forms in the middle of the twelfth century: thus fader, hwat, pat, alongside of more frequent

ĕ-forms: pet, wes, efter, etc., in Kt. Hom., Vesp. A. 22 (1150). The Laud. Sermons (before 1250) have more ă- than ĕ-forms, but still retain pet, efter, wet, etc.; in Azenbite (1340) the e-forms are more frequent: eppel, gled, gles, ssel 'shall', weter, etc., but occasional ă, cp. smak, uader. W. of Shoreham (1307) has predominating e, schel, wet, creft, wesschere, hep, hedde, wetere, etc., but also a in wat, schal, water, glass, wasschep, etc.

The Northern and Midland a-type becomes the predominant, and finally the sole type, apparently throughout the whole country, as is shown by the testimony of the Modern Dialects. In the Standard Dialect, a has come in

from the old City-Essex type.

§ 161. The Combinations -an-, -am- in M.E.

- (1) In London and the Easterly areas, apart from Lamb. Hom. which has ponkien, con, and Trin. Homs. ponke, there appears to be no evidence before the middle of the thirteenth century of any other type than -an-, -am- in man, can, pank, name, etc. But there are slight indications of the use of forms with rounding after 1250 or so, in parts of the East. Fl. and Blancheflour (Suffolk?) has mon (rhymes on, and anon); bigon Pret. 5, rh. anon; con, rh. ston; Octov. has con, bigon, thonkede; S. Patr. Purg. mon; in the fourteenth century Rich. C. de L. has I con, and mon; the Lynne Guilds (Norf.) mon. In the fifteenth century Lydgate has I konne rh. bigon; Pallad. mon, thonk; Cely P. con (George C.); con, connot (Rich. C. the younger); Gregory has thonke passim; Chron. of Engl., Herts., shonkel. Therefore the existence of these forms, to some slight extent, in Suff. and Ess. seems certain. None of the later London texts and docs. have any trace of -on-, nor have the Pl. Ns., neither here nor in the eastern counties. (Mackenzie.) Otherwise, only -an- in Orm, Peterb. Chron., Bestiary, Gen. and Ex., King Horn, Havelok, R. of Brunne, Norf. Guilds, etc. In the W. Midl., we find an in the Sthn. portion of the area, but on as the characteristic type in the Central and Nthn. parts of the area. The dialect of the large region lying between the W. and E. Midl., the so-called Central Midl., had apparently -an- in agreement with the Eastern type.
 - (2) i-mutation of -an-. It is characteristic of the Early Dialects of Essex and of London City that they have -aninstead of -en- as in other M.E. dialects, derived from earlier -æn- (see § 109, Note) with retraction of O.E. æ as shown in § 160 (2). Thus in V. and V. we get ande 'end', utsanden 'send', angel, O.E. engel, wandende, O.E. wendan, etc., etc.;

in Essex Pl. Ns., Dane-, Fan- ('fen'); City Ns., Fancherch, Thamis, etc. Even in Westm. Ch. we find a slight trace, awanded, due to City influence. The normal form in Middle as in Later London is -en-. Texts such as Arth. and Merl., and K. Alisaund., which show other Essex features, have -anoccasionally, in spelling and in rhymes. South of the Thames, the Surrey Pl. N. form Wandlesurth 'Wandsworth' must owe its -an- to the influence of City dialect.

§ 162. O.E. & in M.E.

(1) It will be convenient to distinguish the two origins of this sound as \bar{x}^1 and \bar{x}^2 . The former represents Prim. O.E. \bar{x} , W. Gmc. \bar{a} , as in W.S. $d\bar{x}d$ 'deed', $s\bar{x}d$ 'seed', $sp(r)\bar{x}c\bar{c}e$, etc., the latter, the result of the i-mutation of O.E. a, W.Gmc. ai, as in dæl 'part', hælu 'health', etc., tæc(e)an 'teach', etc. It will be remembered that in all the non-W. or Central Sax. dialects 2 was raised to 2 early in the O.E. period (§ 123), while \$\overline{x}^2\$ remained everywhere, except in a limited eastern area (§ 140). W.S. therefore had \$\vec{x}\$ in words of both classes, Kentish had \bar{e} in both, the Anglian dialects had \bar{e} for \bar{x}^1 , and retained \bar{x}^2 .

It seems probable that in Late O.E. or Early Transition, O.E. & wherever it existed, except in the area referred to in § 162 (3), and no matter what its origin, was raised to [$\bar{\epsilon}$] midfront-slack. Since Kt. had not this sound (O.E. 2) at all, we

may dismiss this dialect at once.

Midland and Northern dialects distinguish \$\bar{x}^1 = [\bar{e}]\$ tense from $\bar{x}^2 = [\bar{\epsilon}]$ slack during the whole M.E. period, as is shown by the rhymes in careful poets, and by the descriptions of the two sounds by sixteenth-century writers on pronunciation.

The dialects of the W. and Central Sax. areas, and some dialects north of the Thames, preserve the equivalent of \bar{z}^1 and \bar{z}^2 as $[\bar{\epsilon}]$, and careful scribes often distinguish this sound in the spelling from the tense ē in dēman, grēne, etc., derived from O.E. ē (i-mutation of ō). The least satisfactory spelling is e, ee, the most unambiguous are x, ea. x is found comparatively rarely after the thirteenth century, and probably not at all

after the beginning of the fourteenth.

It should be noted that Orm's spellings with z for \bar{z}^1 are remarkable, for though he occasionally writes e, the former is his favourite symbol. It is hardly conceivable that an E. Midl. dialect can really have pronounced the slack sound here, and the occurrence of the x-spellings must probably be attributed to the domination and persistence of the classical W.Sax. mode of writing among learned persons like Orm. It is difficult otherwise to account for his forms spache, spaken (pret. pl.), forzæfe; evenn, O.E. æfen, l. 1105, is, as we should suppose,

the type normal to his dialect.

Examples of O.E. & in Southern texts are: (i) &1: Rd. Tree-spæce and spēce (æ predominates for both æ-sounds in this text, with some e-spellings, and a few ea); P.M., e chiefly-were, dreden; God Ur.-misdeden, greden; Lambeth Hom.-neddren, weren; A. R.-weaden, O.E. gewade; read, O.E. ræd; meal, O.E. mæl 'time'; heren 'hairs'; Metr. St. Jul .- strēte, brēp; Trevisa-weete (sb.) 'wet'.

(ii) z2: Rd. Tree-del, deales, aleaden, nefre (ze predominates); P. M.—sælþe, sēlþe, unhēlþe, þære, æuerich, læden (vb.); God Ur .- cleane, todealen, heale, leafdi, but techen; Lambeth Hom.—sea 'the sea', clenesse; A. R.—leafdi, dealen, and delen 'parts', geat 'goats', leared 'teaches', heale, arearen;

Metr. St. Jul.—sē 'sea', brēde, lēuedi.

It appears from these examples that ea is written with far greater consistency for \bar{x}^2 than for \bar{x}^1 , but the identity of the sounds is proved by the fact that e, ea, & are written indifferently for both, and further from such rhymes as pare-were, dreden -læden (P. M., Egerton MS.); brēde-sprēde-dēde 'dead' (St. Jul.). The Kentish type with [e] in this class of words certainly survived in M.E. The Kentishman Gower, who habitually uses ie for the tense vowel, writes cliene, diel, O.E. (Kt.) clēne, dēl.

(2) The precise geographical extent of the \bar{x}^{1} -area is very difficult to establish. Was it co-extensive with the W. Sax. sphere of speech influence, and if so, how far did this extend? Some authorities believe that the x-area was considerable in extent. See the important article by Pogatscher in Anglia xxiii, and 'Mittelenglische Mundarten' by Jordan G.R.M.,

ii, p. 124, etc.

The London dialect was originally within the area. The earliest London Charters and Davie have [s], and even in Chaucer, who often uses the Anglian ē-forms, as is shown by his rhymes, the W.S. [\$]-type still predominates in the poetry. It is practically impossible to trace the survival of the W.S. \bar{x} -type beyond the fourteenth century. It was apparently ousted by the increasing predominance of the non-Sax. form. The most certain test of a M.E. slack [\vec{\varepsilon}] in a word containing originally O.E. \$\overline{x}^1\$ is the survival of the sound as a mid-front in Early Mod. Engl. By the early fifteenth century all M.E. tense ē-sounds were raised to [i] unless previously shortened; cp. § 229 below.

It is indeed highly probable that in some dialects this change was far earlier than is commonly supposed, as shown by such occasional spellings as those of Lazamon MS. Calig. (c. 1200) spiche 'speech,' 1, 141. 12; sichinde 'seeking', 1. 310. 15; and bediende 'judged, declared', 1. 367. 20; siche 'to seek', Beket 1. 60 (Percy Soc.) (c. 1300); wyping 'weeping', Harley Lyrics (1310) Geistl. Lieder XI 3; hyde 'heed', Trevisa, Polychr. MS. Tib. D. vii, Pfeffer, pp. 1073, 121, 124; myde 'meed', pp. 109, 137, spyde 'speed', pp. 121, 140; hy p. 110. These spellings are very numerous in this MS. See Pfeffer, p. 15.

Note. Pogatscher, in the article mentioned, on the evidence of the forms of Pl. Names beginning with strat- (O.E. stræt-, shortened to stræt-, and retracted to strat-), tries to show that the z-area included the following counties: Cornwall, Somerset, Dorset, Wilts., Hants, Gloucestershire, Oxfordshire, southern part of Northants which borders on Bucks., Bucks. itself, Bedfordshire, Middlesex, Suffolk, Norfolk. In Essex and Warwickshire both stret- (= O.E. strēt-, non-W. Sax.) and strat- occur. The rest of England belonged to the z-area. These results are, however, somewhat dubious, as Pogatscher relies only upon the Modern forms of the names. Cp. the criticism by O. Ritter in Anglia, N.F. xxv, p. 269, etc. Cp. now on this question Heuser, Alt-London, 1914, and Brandl, Z. Geogr. etc., 1915.

(3) Area in which O.E. \bar{z}^1 and \bar{z}^2 become \bar{a} in M.E.

In a restricted area in the East, the spelling \bar{a} is fairly regular for O.E. \bar{z} of both origins. In Essex Pl.-Ns. this predominates from beginning of thirteenth into the fourteenth century, and the \bar{a} -forms are found as late as the fifteenth century, the elements $m\bar{a}d(e)$ 'meadow', $str\bar{a}t(e)$ 'street', also $h\bar{a}th(e)$ 'heath', $cl\bar{a}ne$ 'clean', $w\bar{a}te$ 'wheat.' In Vices and Virtues \bar{a} is very common, but z and e are also written.

A is also the prevailing spelling in City of London documents in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and the ā-type is found, though in smaller numbers, in the fourteenth century. Heuser, loc. cit., lays stress on the occurrence of this type in London, but Miss Mackenzie (Lond. Dial., §§ 93, 94, 249, 251) gives more precise statistics. She finds, in twelfth century 8 a, and no ē; in thirteenth century 116 \bar{a} and 70 \bar{e} , of which latter, only 14 are found before 1270; in fourteenth century, on the other hand, she has counted 250 ē forms to 40 ā; in fifteenth century she finds no a spellings at all in City documents. It appears therefore that this characteristic Essex feature gives way before the Middles. type and disappears altogether from the City dialect. In Westm. Ch. (Faustina MS.) which is strongly tinged by City dialect influence, though in many respects resembling the more westerly Middles type, Miss Mackenzie calculates that the \bar{a} -spellings are four times as numerous as x, or e, in strāte, māde, lāse (O.E. læs), sālpe, hāpe, &c. (§§ 101-2, 122). In Middles. Pl.-Ns. Miss M. has only noted 5 a forms (-mad. -strāte) down to end of thirteenth century, all of which occur in places along the Essex border, ₹ being the normal type in the county (Lond. Dial., § 110). In Trin. Homs. ₹ largely predominates, but scattered forms such as dāde 'deed', adrāde, inf., sād 'seed,'grādi, forlāten, rāde vb.; Lamb. Homs. has hardly anyā's, but rāde vb.; Hen. III Procl. has only ₹ or ₹, and ā-spellings are unknown in any later London texts of any kind.

There is a group of M.E. texts whose area of origin is rather uncertain, but which have many points in common with Essex, which not infrequently write a for O.E. a. include all those mentioned in § 164. 4. as having [e] for O.E. ea, except Octovian, and Floris and Blancheflour. spellings represent a real pronunciation with $[\bar{a}]$ is, I think, proved both by their frequency and their systematic employment in well-defined areas, and also by the fact that words so spelt rhyme with M.E. ā of other origins, e.g. rāde (O.E. rād), -made vb., sade 'seed'-made, Arth. and Merl.; strētis (for strātis),—gātis, drēde (for drāde),—māde K. Alisaunder; slāpe, n.-knape, Seven Sages, &c. The Cambr. MS. of King Horn has traces of these rhymes-late vb.-gate, which suggests that the original was in the dialect of the \bar{a} -area. On the Pl.-N. evidence Miss Mackenzie, Lond. Dial., § 350, defines the area in which O.E. & became a, as Hertford, Beds, Hunts, as well as Essex and London City, thus agreeing in the main with Heuser, who however does not distinguish the City from Middles. Miss Mackenzie points out a few ā-spellings in Pl.-Ns. south of the Thames in the neighbourhood of Rotherhithe-Weststräte (1170), and madbroke (1314) (Lond. Dial. 354). This area must be regarded as an outlying portion of the City in respect of its dialect. Chertsey Ch. has a few ā-spellings which must surely be scribal, since Surrey Pl.-namesewith which the dialect of Chertsey otherwise agrees, show no traces of these forms.

The development of O.E. \bar{x} is, as we see, largely parallel with that of \check{x} . In O.E. \bar{x} is differentiated into (\bar{x}) \bar{x} , and (2) \bar{e} ; \bar{e} remains as $[\bar{e}]$ in M.E., but the \bar{x} types are further differentiated in M.E.; in some areas the sound is raised to $[\bar{e}]$, in others it is retracted to $[\bar{a}]$, the type we have just considered. Before the end of the M.E. period this type was completely superseded by the $[\bar{e}]$ type in some areas, in others by $[\bar{e}]$.

§ 163. Treatment of O.E. ō in M.E.

O.E. ō was a mid-back-tense vowel, and in the South and Midlands, and in Kent, was preserved as such in Early Transition and Middle English. During the M.E. period, this

sound, in both English and Norse words as well as in those of French origin, gradually underwent a process of overrounding (see § 49 above) and was subsequently raised to a high-back-tense [ū], which stage it had reached in Late Middle English. Although there is nothing in normal M.E. spelling to indicate that this process was going on, it is clear from the rhymes that original ō was quite distinct in sound from the other ō which developed during the M.E. period and was a long slack vowel. See §§ 165, 173 (c) below. There is further a fair sprinkling of occasional spellings with ou in texts from various parts of the South and Midlands, which tends to show that O.E. o was gradually moving towards [u] even if it did not actually reach this precise stage during the earlier M.E. period : e.g. Handlyng Sinne (1303) pe touper 'other' 406, doun' do' 1101; Will. of Shoreham (c. 1320) roude 'rood', 25. 685; doup 'they do' 53. 1471; bloude 'blood' 60. 1701; loukep 'looketh' 75. 2142, etc.; Feudal Aids (c. 1370) Bouc-O.E. boc, -brouc, O.E. broc 'brook',-poule, O.E. pol 'pool', etc., and in MS. Tib. of Trevisa (before 14th. c.) touk, for souk, foul 'fool,' etc.; Allit. P. (c. 1350) goud 'good' Patience 336, Pearl 33, etc. These spellings, and subsequent developments (cp. § 236) establish a strong probability that by the end of the fourteenth century the [u] stage was fully attained.

In the North of England, on the other hand, and in Scotland, original long ō underwent an entirely different development, evidence of which is afforded by the spelling, by rhymes, and by the pronunciation in the Mod. dialects of these areas. In Scotland, at any rate, it was gradually advanced to a sound which, in the fourteenth century, was identified with Fr. $u = [\bar{y}]$. Cursor Mundi (1320) and Nthn. Homilies (1330) still appear to write only o-tok, bok, god, mod, do, etc.; Hampole (1340) writes o, but also u-bukes, gudes. It should be remembered that u at this period generally stands for $[\check{y}]$, $[\tilde{u}]$ being usually written ou-hous, etc. The approximation of O.E. \hat{o} to $[\bar{y}]$ in sound is made certain by the fact that it rhymes with this; thus Hampole has some rhyming to fortone. The symbol o is used indifferently with u for the French sound. Minot (1352) has suth, O.E. sop 'true', flude, gude, but also loke, stode, etc. Barbour's Bruce (1375), written in Scotland in a language still undistinguishable from that of Nth. Engl., writes o and u, also oy-soyne 'soon', doyne 'done', and rhymes O.E. o and Fr. a [y] aventure-forfure, O.E. -for 'departed'. The later Sc. Schir W. Wallace rhymes blud-rude; and fude, blude, gud, all with conclud, and so on.

Gavin Douglas (c. 1525) commonly writes ui as buik, fluid, etc., and this remained as the conventional Scots spelling for this sound.

§ 164. Disappearance of the O.E. Diphthongs in M.E.

(1) O.E. ēa. We have already seen (§ 97. 3, Note) that in Late O.E. there are many examples of x-spellings for ea. Although ea is often written in M.E. in words where it would normally occur in O.E., there is no doubt that, in the former, it represents the sound [and not a diphthong. moment that the old ea was simplified to [#], later [e], it was natural that ea should be used to represent these sounds, since the symbol & gradually fell into desuctude, and e was ambiguous. The commonest source of ea in L.O.E. was Fracture (§ 102). In W.S. the ea which resulted from z preceded by a front consonant was monophthongized in L. O.E. itself, and became e-cef, etc. That from Fracture was also simplified, as is shown by Ælfric's swælt, swært, etc. (§ 102, Note 1).

(2) Before the l-combinations Anglian had no fracture—cald, etc., and in W.S. eall, ceald, healf, etc., must have become æll, cwild, half in the late period. This form, or the development of it with [e], is found in the South, generally written ea, sometimes æ, and e, in Early Transition: e.g. heald, anwealde, but hældan in H. Rd. Tree; wealdes, in Wohunge; eald, fealde, healden, wealden, but wælde, in Poema Morale. Essex Vices and Virtues preserves the front vowel before -ld, ēld, adj., wealden, wēlden, ihēlden, sealde, ældmone; but where there is no lengthening, a, as elsewhere in this district, is retracted to a-alle, half, halp, etc. We may assume that ea here represents the mid-front-slack vowel, and that, before -ld, this

was lengthened to [E] (§ 114 above). (3) The Kt. texts, by the side of ea, for O.E. ea often write ia, ya, e.g. Laud. Homs. diath 'death', diadlich 'deadly', beliaue 'faith'; W. of Shoreham, lias, O.E. leas Pret. 'lost', etc.; Ayenb. dyaf 'deaf', lyaf 'leaf', dyap and dyeup 'death', dyead 'dead', etc. These spellings have been taken to indicate that Kt., unlike all other M.E. dialects, preserved some kind of diphthong for O.E. ēa. This however is by no means certain. It is possible that the spellings indicate no more than [je] or

even merely [E]. See remarks in § 166.

(4) In most dialects, ea in O.E. deap, etc., was simplified to \bar{z} (and levelled with O.E. \bar{z}^2 and in some cases also with \bar{z}^1 , see § 162 (1. 2.)) whence we get [\$\bar{\epsilon}\$] in M.E. There appears, however, to have been an area in the East where ea was monophthongized to [\$\bar{\epsilon}\$] without passing through [\$\bar{\alpha}\$] at all

Thus in the Essex Vices and Virtues where \$\overline{x}^1\$ and \$\overline{x}^2\$ commonly appear as \bar{a} , see § 162 (3), O.E. $\bar{e}\bar{a}$ is never so written, but always either e, or ea, while the latter spelling is not used for O.E. z. In several later texts which present other characteristics of Essex or neighbouring dialects, the vowel from O.E.

ēa rhymes with undoubted tense ē.

Miss Mackenzie has noted these rhymes in the following texts:-Octovian, Floris and Blauncheflour, Arthur and Merlin, K. Alis., Seven Sages, Religious Lyrics (late thirteenth century Ed. Jacobi), S. Alexius, S. Patrick's Purgatory, Rich. Coeur de Lion. In the fifteenth century they are frequent in Lydgate (of Bury), Palladius (Colchester), and Stephen Hawes (Suff.). It is significant that there are no examples of these rhymes in Chaucer, nor in Lydgate's contemporary Hoccleve. The spelling lipe, O.E. hleapan, is found in the S. Albans book of Hunting (1486), which would be a very early example of raising, if the vowel represented a M.E. [8]. See on this point Mackenzie, E. Stud. 61. 1927, and Lond. Dial., § 359. We are forced to suppose an early monophthonging to [\$\overline{\epsilon}\$] which must have become partly tense before the lengthening of the & in open sylls. (§ 173 and Note 1). None of the above texts rhyme lengthened & with undoubted tense &. The dialect area in which O.E. ea became M.E. tense e seems to have included Essex-the starting point-part of Suffolk, and later, part of Herts. (Mackenzie, Lond. Dial. 360.)

§ 165. Ousting of W.S. type before .ll, .ld, etc.

It is remarkable that the W.S. ē-type was, quite early, completely ousted by the Anglian type-all, ald, instead of eall or æll=[ell, eld], etc. We find this beginning in the late twelfth century in H. Rd. Tree, which Napier says has all fifty times; Wohunge has such forms as halde, balde, caldliche; Soules Warde has halden; A. R. has old, tolde, iholden, cold; Prov. of Alfr. (Jesus MS., 1246-50) has also the Anglian cold, holde, alre, but preserves the Sax. type in the solitary forms welde 'wield', weldest. See however § 166, Note.

Thus the native Southern type is early-one might almost say, suddenly-superseded and ousted by alien forms, in the Saxon area, both in words with lengthening such as cold, instead of the normal descendant che(a)ld, of W.S. ceald, L.W.S. cald, and in words without lengthening such as all, half, etc.

Such forms as hölde, öld, cöld from Anglian haldan, ald, etc. fall of course under the ordinary rounding of O.E. a, § 156.

The London Area undoubtedly had fracture originally before -l+cons. and the approximate date at which the unfractured forms gain the upper hand varies in different parts of the area. The old City names agree with Essex in having ēld, etc.: Eldenes Lane (1257), Eldefishstrate, Eldemariecherch (Heuser 22-32), and these forms occur in late fourteenth century, e. g. Eldene lane (1391) and Eld ynne = 'Old Inn' in fifteenth century, cp. Mackenzie, § 246. Westm. Ch. writes æld, eald, elden dat. pl.: ald being rare, also yseld, gehelde, and beholde; Hen. III Procl. eald and ald; Trin. Homs. eld, eald, and a few ald, old; Lamb. Homs. on the other hand has chiefly āld, old, and a few such forms as ealde, eld, weldende. fourteenth century old, holden, etc. are the regular forms in the London dialect of Chaucer, Petition of Folk in Mercery, etc., and the only ones in Hist. of S. Bartholomew's Church (1400) and later texts. Chaucer has a few examples, confirmed by rhymes, of the old City and Middles. type-hēlde, bihēlde (inf.), helde (Pres. Pl.), welde (inf.). These may well be due to Chaucer's early connexion with the City, and need not necessarily be explained as new formations from analogy of the old 2nd and 3rd Pers. Sing. Pres.

The ousting of the old London type may be due to the influence of the neighbouring Bucks dialect. The Pl. Ns. of this county show that it belonged to the non-fracture area, except for a small portion in the S.E. which, according to Mawer, Bucks Pl. Ns., p. xiv., was early settled by Middle Saxons; otherwise we find Caldecote (1199), Calverstone (1182); Aldemede (temp.

Rich. 1), etc. See Mackenzie, §§ 300-2.

In *l*-combinations where no lengthening took place we find in different parts of the London area, either the Essex type al- with retraction, from xl-, or el-, with raising. The latter appears to have been the characteristic original regional type, though the al-type later becomes the sole form in use. F. of F. 1196 has chelchuð. The City docs. have Aldredesgate (1196), and Aldemanberi (1202), both with shortening; Mackenzie, § 10; Westm. Ch. by the side of -al-, has such remarkable forms as stellere, ellswa; further Elfward, and Chilchelle, for Chelk- (Mackenzie); Trin. Homs. half, halle, bifallen, salt, alle, but ealse, sealmboc; Lamb. Homs. generally -al-, but a fair number of the other type;—help Pret. Sing., abelh, -bealh, swealh, swealte, ealle (Mackenzie 60); Procl. and the later docs. have -al- only.

§ 166. O.E. ceald, half, etc., in Kentish.

It seems possible that in Kt. the O.E. diphthongs survived in some forms as diphthongs into the M.E. period, O.E. éa probably becoming a 'rising diphthong' and passing through

[ed, id] to [jd] or [jæ, je]. The Azenbite (1340) exhibits the characteristic Kt. state of affairs more consistently, in the spelling, than the earlier texts in the same dialect. Thus Agenbite writes yalde, ealde 'old'; ofhyealde, yhyealde p.p. O.E. ge-healden; by-wealde, chealde, chald, and beld, O.E. beald. These spellings are by some authorities supposed to indicate such a pronunciation as [t]æld, tfēld, ihjælde, ihjelde] or something of the kind. Such spellings as hald 'holds', chald 'cold', in this text may be attempts to express [jæ] or [je]. No doubt after ch [t]] the [j]-sound was lost. Of earlier Kt. texts, the Vespas. Homilies write manifeald, but also manifald, unitald; the Laud. Homilies have the Kt. spelling ihialde, the ambiguous chald, the Anglian i-told, and the hybrid chôld. All Kt. texts in M.E. have such forms as alle, falle, half, which we may regard either as Anglian importations, which here, as in the West and Central Sthn., have ousted the native forms; or merely as showing retraction of z in cealf < colf < chalf.

NOTE. In Mod. English weald n. and wield vb. seem to be the sole survivors of the old ea, M.E. \tilde{e} , $[\tilde{e}]$ -type, and even here the noun has the alternative Anglian form wold.

§ 167. O.E. ea followed by r + consonant.

O.E. hearm, eart, earm 'arm' (L. O.E. hærm, etc.) are written herm, ert, erm in thirteenth-century texts in the West and Central South. The combination -er- seems generally to become -ar- later. In the Midlands and Essex, harm, art, etc., are the prevailing types already in Early Transition, and appear to show retraction of æ. The same forms in the Nth. represent the un-fractured type.

§ 168. O.E. es monophthongized to e, or becomes a rounded vowel.

There were apparently three possibilities in regard to this diphthong. (a) In one area, in Essex and Suffolk, and perhaps elsewhere in the extreme East, it was monophthongized to \tilde{e} before the end of the O.E. period. As early as the tenth and eleventh century Suff. Charters write werp, etc., and in the middle of the twelfth century Peterborough Chron. has e, though eo is also frequently written.

(b) In another area, including the whole of the S.W., the West Midl., Central Midl. and also, in the East, apparently including London and some adjacent counties, exclusive of Kt, the first element of \tilde{eo} was rounded, giving $[\varnothing o]$, and this was monophthongized to $[\varnothing]$. This stage is found in the earliest M.E. (twelfth and early thirteenth centuries). The earliest

Lond. Ch., write eorl, peof, etc. The Lambeth Homs. (1200) probably from Sth. Middlesex, by the side of e, write also eoden; heorte, orpe 'earth', etc.; Trin. Homs. (N.E. Middles.?)

have slight traces, storre 'star', trowen 'trees.'

(c) During the thirteenth century a process of un-rounding affected this vowel, and it became ¿ everywhere East of a line which will be defined hereafter. Henceforth we have, excluding Kt. for the moment, two types of dialectal development in words containing the old diphthongs: (1) e, which is now found in the old e-area ((a) above), as well as in that part of the country where un-rounding of [ø] took place; (2) a rounded vowel which survives in the extreme S.W. and perhaps further Nth., as late as the middle of the fifteenth century. This vowel which at first was [ø] was gradually raised to [y] and was thus levelled with Fr. [y] and with the same sound, when it survived, from O.E. This rounded vowel continues to be written, for some time, with the traditional spelling eo, but the typical M.E. spellings are ue, oe, u, ui, uy, o, u, the last being the most frequent. Rhymes point to the early development of [y]; thus Lazamon rhymes neode 'need' with hude 'to hide' (though rhymes in this text must be received with caution), and Sthn. Leg. duyre 'dear', with huyre 'to hire'. This u-area, as we may call it, includes, as Miss Serjeantson, basing her results on an extended survey of Pl. N. forms, suggests tentatively, all the English dialects west of a line drawn from Dorking to Birmingham, and thence perhaps to Derby. Rounded forms occur in all the S. and S.W. texts; sulve 'self', heonne 'hence' rh. moncunne, Owl and Nightingale; duere 'dearly', suelfer 'silver', O.E. seolfor, in Moral Ode (Egerton MS. Hants); furpe 'fourth', in Us. of Win., Dupe-'deep', Nuther- O.E. neopor, in fourteenth century Hants Pl. Ns. fr. Hund. Rlls.; clupep 'calls', lume 'limbs', brust 'breast', etc. R. of Glos.; Trevisa for eo always has e unless when the vowel is lengthened, but then writes eo, eu, u; once ue; eo written e, but usually eo, u, ue; see Pfeffer, pp. 21-2; 27-9; vrthe 'earth', dure 'dear', etc. S. Editha. Dure occurs in Shillingford's Letters (Exeter 1447-50). Similar forms with eo, u, ue, etc. occur in the early S.W. Midl.—Lazamon, Ancr. Riwle (Morton), the Catherine group, in the fourteenth century Harley Lyrics (Heref.), in Jos. of Ar., Audelay's Poems, Allit. P., and Sir Gawayne, all W. Midl. (See Serjeantson.)

None of the Eastern dialects, after the middle of the thirteenth century, show any traces of a rounded vowel, either in texts or in Pl. Ns. London documents write nothing but e after this period. The earliest charters have eo, and so have

the early thirteenth century Homs., see above. Westm. Ch. has a trace of the rounded vowel tof 'thief'; Procl. of Hen. III has Hurtford, eorl, beon. Among early Pl. N. forms from Middles., Miss Mackenzie has noted (§ 182) Sovenhacres 'Sevenacres', near Shoreditch (temp. Hen. III); Mosewella 'Muswell' (1152); Prostmād (thirteenth century). occurrence of a rounded vowel in Middles, is one of the features which distinguish this dialect from that of the City of London and the Essex type. The typical Eastern sound is ž, which, when from old long eo, is tense. Peterborough Chron. writes heom, eorl, heolden, deoften; but also erthe, sterres, helden, der, undep, etc., and that eo does not denote a rounded vowel here is made certain by its use in ceose 'cheese', for cese. Vices and Virtues (Nth. Essex) writes ierde, erde, liernen, lemen 'limbs', lief, diepliche, dieuel, pieues, etc., ie being the regular symbol of this scribe for tense [e]. The occurrence of e, or eo, u, etc. in a text is a valuable dialect test in discriminating between East and West.

§ 169. O.E. eo in Kentish.

The Kentish texts frequently write ie, io, ye, for these diphthongs, especially for the long, though not with perfect consistency. Vespasian Homs. (1150), write hierte, sielfe, but also eorde, ærlen 'earls', nemen 'take'; but for the long, chiesen inf. O.E. ceosan, dier(cynne), diofles, piode, piesternesse, pesternesse; Laud. Homs. (1250) erpe, and yerpe, herle, sterre; dieules, liese inf. O.E. -leosan; bien inf., but also devel, frend, prest, helden, Pret. Pl., etc.; W. of Shoreham (Nth. W. Kt. 1320) writes e, ee; Azenbite (Canterbury, 1340) is the most consistent in writing -ye- for the long: pyēf, dyēuel, byēp, dyēp, etc.; lyerny 'to learn', yerpe, but more commonly e-sterve O.E. steorfan 'die', erl, erpe, herte, heuene, etc. It has been held that the ie, ye spellings represent diphthongal pronunciation, but this seems extremely doubtful, especially for the short, and is not very probable for the long, since ie is a recognized symbol for tense \tilde{e} (Laud. Homs. write $hieren = h\bar{e}ren$), and is consistently used for this in the Essex Vices and Virtues, and much later by the Kentishman Gower, who however does not write it for ž from žo. In yerpe, by the side of erpe, the y may represent a tendency to develop an initial front cons. before e-.

§ 170. O.E. ře (y) in M.E.

Since ze is purely W. Sax., its representative is only found in the Saxon area in M.E. Already in O.E. in one part of the area te was apparently levelled under t, which sound survives

unaltered in M.E. In another part this diphthong, whether long or short, became \tilde{y} in L.W.S. (cp. § 119 above). This is preserved in M.E. but always written u, or (when long) also ui, uy—hurde 'shepherd', huiren 'hear', etc.

Unlike the other O.E. \tilde{y} (from \tilde{u} -i, cp. § 108) which was universal in O.E., and which survived widely in M.E. (§ 158), the sound we are considering is confined to part of the South.

The original Saxon character of the London Dialect is shown by the occurrence of \tilde{t} , \tilde{y} in the earliest Charters and Procl. yrfnume, alysednesse, etc.; after the beginning of the fourteenth century, however, non-Saxon $\tilde{\epsilon}$ -forms are alone found—Davie, here 'hear', stel' steel.'

§ 171. Development of New Diphthongs in M.E.

Numerous diphthongs arose in M.E. through the development of glide-sounds between vowels and the following [j], [h], [h] and [z]. The glide took the form, in the former cases, of the vowel i, in the latter, of u. The diphthongs are written ai, ay, ei, ey, au, aw, ou, ow, etc.

- (1) M.E. ai—O.E. zg becomes M.E. zi, ai; O.E. dzg, M.E. dzi, dai.
- (2) M.E. ei—(a) O.E. eġ becomes M.E. ei; O.E. weġ, M.E. wei; O.E, leġde, M.E. leide.
- (b) Late O.E. žh from eah becomes M.E. ei: zhta, 'eight', M.E. ehte, eihte, etc.
- (3) M.E. $\tilde{e}i$ —(a) O.E. $\tilde{x}\dot{g}$ becomes M.E. $\tilde{e}i$; O.E. $\tilde{x}\dot{g}$ 'egg', M.E. $\tilde{e}i$.
- (b) Late O.E. \bar{x} from $\bar{e}a + \dot{g}$, \hbar , which is subsequently fronted, becomes M.E. $\bar{e}i$: O.E. $\bar{e}age$, later $\bar{x}ge$ 'eye', M.E. $\bar{e}y\bar{e}$. This is subsequently raised.
- (4) M.E. eu-O.E. and M.E. ef-+consonant becomes ew in Late M.E.: O.E. efete, ev(e)te, ewte 'newt'.
- (5) M.E. ēu [ēu]—O.E. ēaw, æw becomes M.E. ēu: O.E. dēaw 'dew', M.E. dēu; O.E. scēawian, M.E. schēwen 'show'.
- (6) M.E. ēu [ēu]—O.E. ēow becomes M.E. ēu: O.E. trēowe, M.E. trēue 'true'; O.E. blēow 'blew', M.E. blēu.
- (7) M.E. au has several origins—(a) O.E. ag-followed by a back vowel: O.E. sagu, M.E. sāwe; O.E. slagen, M.E. slāwen.
- (b) af- followed by a vowel becomes av, aw, au: O.E. hafoc 'hawk', M.E. havek, hawek, hauk.
 - (c) O.Fr. au: faute 'fault'.
- (d) O.Fr. nasalized \bar{a} followed by n: M.E. daunten 'daunt'.

(8) M.E. ou—O.E. aw becomes M.E. ou, ow: O.E. cnawan, M.E. knowen.

O.E. ag- becomes ow between vowels: O.E. agan, M.E.

ōwen.

O.E. δ in an open syllable followed by g in the next is lengthened; g becomes w as in O.E. $b\delta ga$ 'bow', M.E. $b\delta ue$, $b\delta ue$.

NOTE. It is rather doubtful whether δu , δw in these words is really to be regarded as a diphthong at all. The subsequent history of the sound is that of ordinary M.E. δ [\mathcal{I}]. See §§ 156 above, and 173 (c) below.

(9) M.E. ōu. O.E. ōg, ōh, M.E. ō3, ōh, seem first of all to have been diphthongized to ōuw, ōuwh, and then the ō assimilates to the second element of the diphthong which disappears so that ūw, ūh result: O.E. plōh, M.E. plōuh, plūh; O.E. ġenōh, M.E. inōuh, inūh. The inflected cases of these words have in O.E. (gen.) plōges, M.E. plōuwes, plūwes; ġenōges, M.E. inōuwes, inūwes, etc.

Note. The combinations [as, ants, and] in some dialects (Sth-Western?) often becomes diphthongal in M.E. aisschen 'ask', chaynge.

The O.E. combination -enèt becomes -eint, chiefly in S.W.: O.E. drenète,
M.E. dreinte; O E. blenète, M.E. bleinte, etc.

§ 172. Monophthongizing and later alteration of M.E. Diphthongs.

(1) Diphthongs in -u.

(a) Diphthongs whose second element is -u lose this element in M.E. and lengthen the first element before lip-consonants: chamber from chaumber; save, safe from sauve, saufe; M.E. rême (Trevisa) by side of rewme 'kingdom'; Mod. Engl. jeopardy [džepadi], in spite of its spelling, implies M.E. jepardi; people, feoff [pipl, fif] are also probably examples of this influence of the lip-consonant. The name Beaumont, now usually [boument], owes its pronunciation to French influence, but the variant Beamont [bimont] is a case in point (cp. Luick, Anglia, xvi, pp. 485, 499, 500, 503). Luick rightly conjectures the existence of [bimont] Beamont, although he is unacquainted with it. Further, the name Belvoir [bivə] from Beuveir < *Bēveir (also Belveire), and Bevis [bīvis] from Beufitz are good examples. Beaufort, now [boufst]. is no doubt to be explained like Beaumont. The spelling Buforde (Duke of) in the Wentworth Papers (1710) points to [bjū-] and must be due to association with the first syll. of beautiful. On the other hand, Beaulieu = [bjūli] is normal. Cp. §§ 198, 265.

(b) The second element of -u diphthongs is also lost in M.E. before [s, ts, dž] and the first element lengthened. Examples: M.E. āge from auge; ānge from aunge; chivachie from chivauchie; Beauchamp [bītsəm], M.E. *Bēchamp (Luick, Anglia, xvi, pp. 503, etc.).

(2) O.E. - eak, eag become i.

By far the most usual way of writing the O.E. words eage, 'eye', heah 'high', leag 'field' in M.E., is eye, eze, heih, hez. lēih, lēz, etc.; there are many variants, but the vowel appears either as ¿i or ¿. This is equally true of the spellings in both texts and Pl.-Ns. From about the middle of the thirteenth century, however, spellings with y and i appear occasionally in the documents of some areas. The scribes appear to have avoided these latter spellings, and even in texts and Pl.-Ns. in which they do occur they are far less frequent than the other spellings, and indeed when the rhyme shows that the pronunciation [i] was intended, the scribe often still adheres to ei, ey, etc. So infrequent are the y, i, spellings that even the slightest trace of them in a document may be significant of the new pronunciation in the dialect of the area whence it comes, or at least in that of the scribe. In most M.E. texts, and in the elements of Pl. Ns. from the greater part of the counties, the y, z spellings are not found at all.

From the evidence of the Pl. N. forms, Miss Serjeantson considers that -i3 had developed in the first half of the thirteenth century in the dialects of part of the West Midl., in the Central Midl., and the central area of Nearer Wessex (see § 151, IV. A 2.), that is in Derby, Notts., Staffs., Leics., Warwes., Northants, Oxfords., Berks., Wilts., Hants, Surrey, and Sussex; probably also in Herts. and Bucks.; possibly in Shropa., Heref., and Worcs. In the fourteenth century the i-forms appear in Hunts. records, and in Lincs. texts. There appears to be no trace of them down to this point in Cambs., Norf., Suff., Essex, and Kent.

London texts and Pl. Ns. appear to contain no i-3-spellings, and Chaucer's scribes write eye, etc., though in all cases where the word occurs in rhyme, the sound [1] is indicated. See Wild, Chaucer's Handschriften, pp. 180-84.

The N.W. Midl. dialects of Lancs. and Cheshire show no traces of y-forms in the texts or Pl. Ns., the former presenting not one such spelling out of over 900 examples of names containing heah, leah. The y-spellings are absent also from the Pl. Ns. of the S.W., Glos., Somers., Devon., and Dorset.

Where it is possible to compare statistics taken from texts of

known origin with those from Pl. N. forms of the same period, there is found substantial agreement regarding the presence or absence of the y-spellings. This is especially the case in Wilts. whose Pl. Ns. show more of these spellings than those of any other county. The early fifteenth-century Wilts. text S. Editha has twenty such spellings, and in eight other instances heyze and neyze (so spelt) rhyme with envye, and by respectively.

See Serjeantson, J. E. G. Phil. 1927.

The complete absence of the *i*- spellings from London documents of all kinds before the fifteenth century is puzzling in view of Chaucer's rhymes, and of the fact that the y-spellings are frequently found in Hist. of S. Bartholomew's Ch. (1400)—nygh adv.: an hye place; highnesse; yie 'eye'; thyis 'thighs', etc., and that this form is the ancestor of the later Received Standard. There are indications of the survival of the other type, from M.E. ē3, etc., as late as the eighteenth century. See § 254, Note 3.

The treatment of O.E. ēah, etc. in M.E. is therefore an important dialect test, when taken in conjunction with other

features.

Quantitative Changes in M.E.

[See very full treatment of the quantity of M.E. vowels in Morsbach's M.E. Gr., pp. 65-117, and the article of Luick cited below.]

§ 173. Lengthening of O.E. Short Vowels.

- (1) Already in Late O.E. short vowels were lengthened before the consonantal combinations nd, mb, ld, ng; cp. § 114 above.
- (2) When either of the vowels a, e, o, occurred in a word of two syllables, with only one consonant following it, e.g. bla-ke 'black', the consonant belonged to the second syllable, and the vowel of the first syllable which was thus 'Open', that is not ending in a consonant, was lengthened.
- (a) O.E. fåder, M.E. fāder; O.E. mācian, M.E. mākien, māken; O.E. sācu 'dispute', etc., M.E. sāke 'crime', etc.; O.E. hāra 'hare', M.E. hāre.
- (b) O.E. beran, M.E. beren 'bear'; O.E. mete 'food', M.E. mete; O.E. mere 'lake', M.E. mere; O.E. stelan 'steal', M.E. stelen.
- (c) O.E. (że)bören 'born', M.E. bōren; O.E. smòca 'smoke', M.E. smōke; O.E. hŏpa 'hope', M.E. hōpe.

NOTE 1. The 3 and 5 due to lengthening of old short vowels in open syllables are slack vowels [e, 5] respectively.

NOTE 2. Many words in O.E., which in the Nom. Sing. ended in a consonant, appear in M.E. with a vowel ending in all cases. Such words undergo lengthening: O.E. hôl 'hole', 'cave', M.E. hôle, from an inflected form. In fact the forms of nouns in M.E., and still more in Mod. Engl., very commonly point to their derivation from an O.E. or M.E. oblique case with an inflexion. On the other hand, doublets often arise in M.E.—a form with a long vowel from an inflected case, and one with a short vowel from an uninflected case: O.E. blec adj. 'black', with inflected forms blaca, etc., gives two M.E. forms, blak from blæc, and blake from blaca. In Mod. Engl. one or both forms may survive, in different dialects, or in the same dialect with specialized meaning: Mod. black, beside the Family Name Blake. See 214, p. 156.

NOTE 3. It is easy to see how a final -e came later to be considered as a sign of length. The stressed vowels in L. M.E. throte, hope, blake, etc., were necessarily long, and when later the -e ceased to be pronounced as a separate syllable, the preceding vowel of course kept its length, and the traditional -e in the spelling was associated with this, in distinction from hop, blak, etc.

NOTE 4. Examples of rhymes from early (thirteenth century) texts, which show that lengthening in open syllables had already taken place:dele-wele 'property'; ebgete-swete, bete; strete, unimete-bijete (Sinners Beware); unhēle-wele; leten-onmête 'meet' (Moral Ode); On slape . . . yschape (K. Horn).

§ 174. Lengthening of i and u in Open Syllables in M.E.

It is now pretty generally accepted that, as stated by Luick (Untersuchungen z. engl. Lautgesch., 1896; Studien z. engl. Lautgesch., 1903), & and & in open syllables were lengthened, lowered, and made tense, before the beginning of the fourteenth century, so that i in this situation became ē, and i became ō. The examples in Mod. Standard English are not very frequent, as in various cases analogies of doublets without lengthening have preserved the short forms with i and u. In M.E. the examples are more numerous.

O.È. wicu 'week', M.E. wēke; O.E. bitul, M.E. bētel; O.E. wifol, M.E. wevel 'weevil'; M.E. euel is explained by Luick

as due to earlier M.E. iuel from O.E. yfel.

O.E. wudu, M.E. wode 'wood'; O.E. duru 'door', M.E. dore; O.E. lufu 'love', M.E. love; O.E. sumu, etc., M.E. some 'some'.

NOTE. Nearly all the forms in M.E. and Mod. Engl., explained by Luick by his law of lengthening i and u were formerly explained in other ways. Thus bētel was said to represent an O.E. (non-W.S.) beoful, eo becoming e and being lengthened in the open syllable; weke was derived from Early M.E. weke, O.E. wecu, with Anglian Smoothing from *weocu (cp. § 127).

ēuel was supposed to have 'Kentish' e for y, with lengthening in an open syllable. Against this is the fact that the e from the above sources was slack [e] in M.E., whereas the Jin these words must have been tense since it was raised to [i] among the first changes of Early Mod. Engl.

(cp. § 229, Note 1).

The o in M.E. love, etc., is still said by some to represent a short vowel. and that u, the o being merely graphic before u, u. In this case the word in M.E. was [luve]. This lengthening is established from the evidence of spellings and rhymes in M.E., and from the Mod. Dial. forms, for the North and Midl. The spellings -woude' wood', Cockersand Chartul. 1365, are clear indications of a long vowel. The exact area over which this lengthening obtained is uncertain. The forms in Standard Engl. may be importations from another dialect.

§ 175. Shortening of O.E. Long Vowels in M.E.

(a) Effect of Consonant Groups.

Before certain groups of two consonants, other than ld, nd, etc., and before long consonants, long vowels are shortened. The shortening takes place also before ld, etc., when a third consonant follows.

- (1) Before long or double stops: O.E. hydde (pret. of hydan 'hide'), M.E. hidde; O.E. lædde 'led', M.E. ledde.
- (2) Before stop + stop: O.E. cepte (pret. of cepan), M.E. këpte; M.E. wepte, pret. of wepen 'weep'.
- (3) Before open consonant + stop: wisdom, cp. wis; fiftene, cp. five; O.E. softe, M.E. softe.
- (4) Before stop + open consonant: depthe, cp. depe 'deep'; Edward, O.E. Eadweard = L. O.E. Edward.
- (5) Before open consonant + m, l: O.E. wifman, M.E. wimman; M.E. gösling, cp. gös; M.E. devles, Pl. of devel.

(6) Before open consonant + open consonant: O.E. hūswīf,

M.E. hŭswif.

(7) Before ld, mb, nd + another consonant: O.E. cīld, Pl. cīldru, M.E. child, childre; O.E. lambru, Pl. of lamb, M.E. lomb, lambre (Orm. chilldre, lammbre); O.E. freondscipe, M.E. frěndschip.

NOTE. The shortenings very commonly occur in compounds, as seen above, among which Pl. Ns. often exhibit good instances. Cp. such names as Bradley, where the first element is O.E. brād' broad', Deptford, Depden where the first element is O.E. deop, M.E. depe, etc.

(8) Shortening before st and sch seems to have been normal. Mod. Engl. has, it is true, mostly long forms before -st: ghost, O.E. gast, M.E. gast; Christ, M.E. Crist; priest, M.E. prest. The M.E. long vowels in this position may be explained from the inflected forms: prēstes, gostes (syllable division prē-stes, go-sies), etc. Before sch []]: wischen, side by side with O.E.

wyscan; flesch, O.E. flæsc; we get also flæsch, flesch, which must be explained on the analogy of the inflected fle-sches, etc.

§ 176. (b) Shortening of Long Vowels in Words of Three Syllables.

In three-syllabled words, the vowel of the first syllable, if long, is shortened; if short, is not lengthened, even though it stand in an open syllable (Luick, Anglia, xx).

These three-syllabled words occur chiefly in compounds such as Pl. Names, and otherwise as the inflected forms of

words of two syllables.

M.E. hōli 'holy', but hŏliday; Whŏtaker, Pl. N. in Lancs., etc., of which first element is O.E. hwōt 'white'. Mod. utter, O.E. ūterra, shows this shortening.

Note. In M.E. there are many doublets, due to different conditions as to the number of syllables, in inflected and uninflected forms of Nouns and Adjectives. In Nouns which end in -er, -el, -en, -y, the inflected forms often lose the syllable before the r, l, n, thus $f\bar{l}der$, but $f\bar{l}dres$, etc., $s\bar{l}del$ ('saddle', but $s\bar{l}dles$, etc., boodi 'body', but $b\bar{l}dles$, whence Mod. $[b\bar{l}ds]$, etc. In these forms the shortening, or absence of lengthening, is due to

the combinations -dr-, -dl-, etc.

On the other hand, in forms without syncope, such as faderes, etc., according to the principle formulated by Luick, the first syllable would remain short, although in an open syllable. Thus we may say that fader and many other M.E. words normally had a long vowel in the Nom. and Acc. Sing., but a short vowel in the other cases. The result was, as a rule, that either a long or a short vowel was generalized, for all cases, Sing. and Pl. Thus we get two types—fader and fader. The form in Mod. Standard Engl. is derived from the fader type, the Dialectal [febo(r)] from M.E. fader (see §§ 220, 225 Note, below). In the same way boddi(y)es retained of in first syllable.

§ 177. Shortening of Long Vowels in Unstressed Syllables.

Long vowels, whether in prefixes such as Q.E. \bar{a} -, or, as is more frequent, in final syllables of compounds, are shortened in M.E. Thus O.E. $\bar{a}rtsan$ is M.E. $\bar{a}rtsen$. So too O.E. $\bar{a}n$, when used as an indefinite article, and therefore unstressed in the sentence, is shortened to $\bar{a}n$, \bar{a} , whereas when it stands for the numeral it remains long, as appears, e.g., in Chaucer, either as \bar{o} , or $\bar{o}n(e)$.

Shortened forms have, are, yu, yure, mi, min, thi, thin, te, etc., occurred in unstressed positions, by the side of the stressed

hāve, āre, mī(n), thǐ(n), tō. See § 222.

Most of these shortenings, however, occur in the second elements of compounds, in which the secondary stress of O.E. was further reduced in M.E.

O.E. cyngestûn 'Kingston', M.E. Kingestûn; M.E. hus(w)if, O.E. wif; the Mod. Engl. Family Name Wodehouse = [wudəs]

shows this shortening of O.E. hūs in the second element; M.E. stirrop 'stirrup', in which the second element is O.E. rāb 'rope'.

§ 178. Treatment of Vowels in Scandinavian Loan-words in M.E.

This whole subject has been elaborately treated by Björkman, Scandinavian Loan-words in Middle English, Pt. I, 1900; Pt. II, 1902.

We are obliged here to state the main facts as simply and

briefly as possible.

Scandinavian vowels were not on the whole very different from those of O.E., and in M.E. the majority of them undergo the same changes as those in native words. Scandinavian a, \tilde{e} , \tilde{t} , \tilde{y} , \tilde{u} , \tilde{o} are treated in the same way as the same vowels in native English words.

The chief sounds deserving notice are the diphthongs ai, ei,

and au, which did not occur in O.E. in native words.

§ 179. O. Scand. ai in some cases was Englished to a (the historically equivalent sound) in O.E. itself: O.E. hamsocn 'attacking an enemy in his house', O.Sc. heim-.

In O.West Scand. ai was preserved much longer than in East Scand., in fact it still survives in some Swed. Dialects at

the present time.

In O.Danish. ai became ei which was simplified to ē in the

pre-literary period.

Both ai, ei, and & are found in M.E. loan-words: baite 'bait, food', blayke 'pale' (cp. the native M.E. form bloke from O.E. blāc), wayke 'weak' (O.E. wāc, M.E. woke), heil 'hale, healthy', reisen 'raise' (cp. O.E. raran 'rear'), pei, peir 'they, their', etc.

The Danish type probably occurs in M.E. weke 'weak'.

§ 180. O. Scand. au. This diphthong appears in M.E. in the three forms au, ou, ō. M.E. gauk, gowk, gōke 'cuckoo', 'fool', also as a man's name, cp. Lanc. Gawthorpe, M.E. Gaukethorp; M.E. windoge' window', O. West Scand. vindauga; M.E. coupe 'pay for, buy', O.W. Scand. kaupa; also in M.E. Lancs. Pl. N. Coupmoneswra, Mod. Capernwray.

In Old Scandinavian au before h was early monophthongized to ō, hence M.E. bōh, bōgh, bōugh, etc. 'though' is from Scand. boh, earlier *pauh, compared with O.E. peah which gives M.E.

pēih, etc.

NOTE. M.E. pauh probably represents O.E. peah, later $p\tilde{x}h$, shortened to $p\tilde{a}h$, in unstressed positions, and retracted to \tilde{a} , whence au developed before h. Cp. § 171.

The Treatment of Vowels in French Loan-words.

(See Jespersen, Mod. Engl. Gr., pp. 130-45, etc., etc.; Kaluza, Hist. Gr. d. engl. Spr., ii, pp. 45-72.)

- § 181. Norman-French, or as they are also called, Anglo-Norman, words passed into English speech for the most part with approximately the same sounds which they already had. We may say that very few new vowel sounds were added to the language from this source. The nasalized vowels which stood before n, m, lost their nasalization, with the exception of \tilde{a} , which retained its quality, at any rate, in the speech of the upper classes. On the peculiar development of N.Fr. \tilde{a} , see below, §§ 183, 184. Another new sound was the diphthong oi; see § 200.
- § 182. N.F. & (1) remains: balle 'ball', part, chartre, cacchen 'catch'.
- (2) Is lengthened in open syllables in the same way as O.E. ă, § 173. 2 (a): plāce, cāge, rāge, corāge, fāme, āble, etc.
 - (3) Lengthened before st: chäste, hāste, etc.
- (4) Lengthened before a final single consonant: estat, debat, cas, etc.
- § 183. N.F. ãn, ãm. The nasalization is kept in the first instance, and the combinations ãn, ãm develop a diphthong au from the nasal vowel: chaumbre, chaunticleer, graunten, chaunce, chaunge, daunce, auncient, exaumple, aunt, etc.
- § 184. By the side of the au-spellings, we frequently find an, am in M.E. The diphthongized forms have another development in Mod. Engl. from those without a diphthong: thus M.E. haunten yields Mod. [hānt], whereas hanten yields [hānt]; cp. § 259 below. These double types are very common in Mod. Engl. and prove the existence of the undiphthongized forms in M.E. if we were inclined to believe that the distinction was merely a matter of spelling. Jespersen (Mod. Engl. Gr., pp. 110, 111) explains the undiphthongized forms as due to the influence of Continental French, where the diphthongization did not occur, in the M.E. period.

This would hardly account for all the forms, as we cannot suppose a widespread or universal knowledge of Continental French, whereas the words in question, having come in from Norman-French, were well established in the language. I am

inclined to suggest that the distinction is due to social causes. The upper classes, in the Early M.E. period, knew and spoke Norman-French, and the sound of the nasal vowel was natural to them. It was different with the lower sort of people, who did not speak French from the cradle. They would hardly pronounce loan-words with a sound that was quite unknown in their own English speech. Thus it seems probable that apart from Court circles dancen, ant 'aunt' were pronounced simply dancen, ant, etc., and these forms underwent no diphthongization. Both types got into popular use, and appear to have been equally current in Early Modern.

NOTE. Before -ge a seems to have been lengthened in M.E. in the undiphthongized forms; the form straange (Trevisa) may be the direct ancestor of the Mod. form. Cp. § 225 below. See §§ 171 (9), Note, and 172 (b) above for chaynge, etc.

- § 185. N.F. ĕ is preserved in M.E. in close syllables: dětte, lěttre, sěrchen; lengthened before -st: fēst, bēst' beast'.
- § 186. N.F. ē, M.E. ē: degrēe, pouertée, deintée 'dignity value', profète, clère, frère 'brother'.
- § 187. N.F. i (i in open syllable), M.E. i, mercie, folie, vice, ile, sire, bibel.
- § 188. N.F. e, ē from O.Fr. ie, M.E. e. In close syllables: aleggen, cerge 'candle'. Lengthened in open syllables: grēven 'grieve', pēce 'piece', sēge, manēre, chēre 'face, appearance'; also before a single final consonant: greef, breef, squiër. This ē is often written ie; see § 162, p. 114 above.
- § 189. N.F. ŏ preserved in close syllables: propre, cofre, force, etc. Lengthened in open syllables = $[\bar{3}]$: cōte 'coat', supposen, nōble, rōse; also before st: hōst, rōst.

§ 190. N.F. $\ddot{\mathbf{n}}$, $\ddot{\mathbf{n}} = [\ddot{\mathbf{n}}]$ remains or becomes short in M.E. before several consonants: court, purse, turnen.

 \ddot{u} in open syllables and before a single final consonant becomes \ddot{u} in N.F. and remains as such in M.E.: vou 'vow', goute, spouse, flour' flower', labour, culour.

δ 101. N.F. ŭ = M.E. ū: mount, croune, ounce, countre.

§ 192. N.F. $[\varnothing]$ eo, ue, from O.Fr. ue. Variously written oe, ue, e as in poeple, people, peple, preef 'proof', boef, beef, etc. It seems likely that these words had the sound $[\varnothing]$ (§ 168), which either survived as a rounded vowel, or, in other dialects, was unrounded to $[\bar{e}]$. This would explain the variations in spelling $p\bar{e}ple$, people. eo no doubt represented $[\varnothing]$. We have

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retained this spelling in the last word and in jeopardy, which is also written juparti, juperdi in M.E. where $u = [\bar{y}]$.

§ 193. N.F. u, $\bar{u} = [\tilde{y}]$ in M.E. This sound remains in M.E. and the great majority of words containing it are of Fr. origin. How far it differed, or in what way, from the O.E. \tilde{y} (§§ 108, 109, 119), also written u in M.E., it is difficult to determine. Since, however, the sound in Fr. words does not undergo the fluctuations in time and place which characterize the sound in Native words, it is fair to suppose that there was some difference between them. Possibly the Fr. [y] was tenser and higher than the English sound.

Examples of short \ddot{u} [y] in M.E.: just, juge, sepulcre, etc. Lengthened in stressed open syllables: pursuen, rūde, sūre,

nature, creature, vertue, vertew.

§ 194. N.F. $til[\bar{y}i]$ becomes simply $[\bar{y}]$, generally written ui, uy, in M.E.: fruit, nuisance.

§ 195. N.F. Diphthongs in M.E.

N.F. ai remains in M.E.: gai, delái, tráitre, grain, chapelain, batáile, vitáiles.

N.F. ai, when it does not bear the chief accent, is generally monophthongized to e in M.E.: resoun, sesoun, tresoun; but raisoun, etc., also occurs.

§ 196. N.F. au remains in M.E.: faute, cause, baume, sauf 'safe', auter 'altar', sauváge, laundere from lavendere 'washerwoman'.

NOTE. Before lip-consonants au becomes à already in M.E. in some cases: saaf (Wycl.). Cp. § 172 (a).

§ 197. N.F. et remains in M.E.: palefréi, monéie, feip, faip 'faith', lei 'law', streit 'narrow', burgeis.

In Central Fr., O.Fr. ei becomes oi, and M.E. exploit, coi are from this source.

- § 198. N.F. eau from earlier eal + consonant becomes eu in M.E.; beutée, beautée.
- § 199. N.F. eu, ieu, remains as eu in M.E.:— few, reule. [The last word may also represent O.E. regol, M.E. rewel.]
- § 200. N.F. oi remains in M.E.: joie, cloistre, vois, chois, destroien, point, boilen.
- § 201. Table of Late M.E. Vowels, and their Sources. M.E. a, O.E. ă, z, as in căt, băk, § 160.

(O.E. e, as in bed, setten.

O.E. eo, as in herte, erpe, etc., § 168. O.E. ea, as in herm, etc., \$ 167.

O.E. i. as in sitten, childre, etc.

O.E. y (in Nth., E.Midl. and in S.W. before front consonant), as in hill, pit, brigge, § 158 (f).

M.E. ŏ (O.E. ŏ, as in flŏk, Gŏdd, etc. O.E. ō shortened, as in gŏsling, blŏsme, etc., § 175 (5).

M.E. u, O.E. u, as in sune (sone).

M.E.[y] (written u) O.E. y: hull, rugge (in W. and Central Midlands and Sth.-West), § 158 (c); O.Fr. ü, as in juge, etc., § 193.

O.E. & in open syllables, as in maken, fader, etc.,

M.E. a O.E. \overline{x}^1 and \overline{x}^2 (in Essex; City of London to 1350 or so; parts of Herts., Beds., Hunts., § 162 (3). O.Fr. ā, as in fame, dame, etc., § 182 (2).

O.E. ē, as in swēte, hē, hēren, etc. O.E. \bar{e} from \bar{x}^1 (non-W.S.), as in $d\bar{e}d$ 'deed', weren, etc., § 162. O.E. eo, as in feend, held, § 168 (a).

O.E. in open syllables, as in weke, § 174.

 $\mathbf{M.E.}\ \bar{\mathbf{e}}\ (\mathbf{I}) = [\bar{\mathbf{e}}]$

O.E. & (S.E.Midl., S.E. and Kentish), earlier \bar{y} , § 158 (b). O.E. & (S.E.Midl., S.E. and Kentish)

from \bar{a} -i, § 162.

O.E. ea as in dethe 'death', etc. (Ess. and Suff.), § 164 (4).

(O.E. \vec{z}^2 , as in delen, clene, etc., § 162.

O.E. \vec{x}^1 (only in Sthn. forms), as in $d\vec{e}de$, strēte, etc., § 162.

O.E. ea, as in rede (reade) 'red', depe (deape), etc., § 164.

M.E. $\bar{\mathbf{e}}$ (2) = $[\bar{\epsilon}]$.

O.E. & in open syllables, as in mête,

beren, etc., § 173 (b) and Notes.

O.E. & (Kt. fr. y) in open sylls. as in euel,
§ 174, Note.

M.E. ī, O.E. ī, as in wine, wife, child, etc.; Earlier M.E. ēģ, ēh: ye'eye', hie'high', nih'nigh', § 172. ii.

O.E. ō, as in gode, col, § 163. M.E. $\bar{\mathbf{o}}$ (I) = $[\bar{\mathbf{o}}^w]$ O.E. $\tilde{\mathbf{z}}$ in open syllables, as in $w\bar{\mathbf{o}}d\mathbf{e}$ 'wood', etc., § 174. O.Fr. $\bar{\mathbf{o}}_a$ as in $f\bar{\mathbf{o}}le$, 'fool'. 136 History of English Sounds: II. M.E. [CHAP. VI

O.E. a, as in hom, ston, cold, etc., § 156. M.E. $\bar{\mathbf{o}}$ (2) = $[\bar{\sigma}]$ O.E. $\check{\sigma}$ in open syllables, as in $b\bar{\sigma}ren$, $h\bar{\sigma}pe$, etc., \S 173 (c) and Notes. O.Fr. $\check{\sigma}$ in open syllables, as in $c\bar{\sigma}te$ 'coat', \S 189.

O.E. a, as in house, foul, nou, young, etc., § 152. M.E. \bar{u} (written ou, etc.) O.E. \bar{o}_3 , $\bar{o}h$, as in plou, inou, etc., § 171 (9). O.Fr. \bar{u} , as in floure, doute, courte,

M.E. $[\bar{y}]$

O.E. v (in W. and Central Midl. and S.W.), as in huithe 'landing-place', bruisen, huiren, 'hear', §§ 158 (c), 170. E. [y]
(written u, ui)
O.E. \overline{eo} (in W.Midl. and S.W.), as in lud 'people', dure 'dear', hulden pret. pl. 'held', § 168.
O.Fr. \overline{u} , as in fruit, suit, etc.

Diphthongs.

M.E. ai, O.E. žġ, as in dai, § 171 (1).

M.E. ei, O.E. eg, as in wei, leide, § 171 (2).

M.E. oi, O.Fr. oi, as in joie, oystre, \$ 200.

M.E. au O.Fr. au, as in drawen, lawe, § 171 (7 a). O.Fr. au, as in faute, § 196. O.Fr. au, as in haunten, daunten, § 183.

M.E. ou, O.E. -og-, oh, as in douhter.

O.E. $\overline{z}\dot{g}$, as in $\bar{e}i$ 'egg', § 171 (3 a). O.E. $\overline{e}ag$ ($\overline{x}g$), as in $\bar{e}ye$ 'eye', § 171 (3 b).

M.E. eu O.E. eaw, as in deu, schewen, § 171 (5). O.E. eow, as in blew, trewe, § 171 (6). O.Fr. eau, as in beutée, § 198.

M.E. ou, O.E. -oga, as in bouwe, O.E. boga 'bow', § 171 (8).

Summary of the chief characteristics of the M.E. Dialect Groups.

SOUTH-EASTERN: KENTISH ESSEX AND LONDON CITY § 202. KENTISH

A. Sounds.

(1) e written for O.E. æ; this is later displaced by Midl. a: O.E. eald, Late O.E \(\bar{z}\)ld appears as \(\bar{e}\)ld.

(2) ye, ie for O.E. eo: yerpe, chiese, chyese, etc.

(3) ya, ia for O.E. ea: hyalde, dyap.

- (4) (a) $\bar{e} = [\bar{e}]$ for O.E. \bar{x} from $\bar{a}-i$: $d\bar{e}l$, $cl\bar{e}ne$; (b) $[\bar{e}]$ for Pr. O.E. \bar{x} : $d\bar{e}d$ (as in Nthmb. and Merc.).
- (5) ž for O.E. ž from <u>ṽ—i</u> (ž in Lt. O.Kt.): velle 'fill', hēp' landing-place', uēr' fire'.
 - (6) z- for s-: zēche 'seek'.
 - (7) u-, v- for f-: uless 'flesh', uox 'fox'.

B. Accidence.

- (8) Retention of y- in P. P.
- (9) Dropping of -n in P. P. and Inf.
- (10) Pres. Part. in -inde.
 (11) 3rd P. Pres. Sing.)

 As in W. and Central Sthn.
- (12) Pl. Pres. in -ep
- (13) Pl. Imperat.
- (14) she, etc., unknown in Fem. Pers. Pron.; usual form hi.
- (15) their, them, they, unknown; only here, hem, hi, etc.
- (16) The curious form his Acc. Pl. 3rd Pers. Also elsewhere in S.E. and S.E. Midl.

§ 203. KENTISH COMPARED WITH ESSEX AND LONDON

London, etc. Middles, and L. London. A. Sounds. Kent. Essex. Citv. (I) O.E. ž 6-2 2 я (2) O.E. ăn-i -en -an -an -en (3) (a) O.E. ea (une (later a) 2 a lengthened) (b) O.E. ea (length- -ēld, -ēld -öld -ēld (later -old) ened) etc. (4) O.E. 251 ê (ē) (5) O.E. æ² (6) O.E. ÿ (ű-i) ē Ē (ē) ã early ", " (later i (2) (2)) (7) O.E. 20 early round vowel writye, ie ten eo, s, o, later unrounded to ē ĕ ě ĕ traces of i, u, in early (8) O.E. ēā-i texts; later only ≥ (9) O.E. eg, ek1 $\bar{\epsilon}y(\bar{y})$ ēy: later rh. w. ī. traces of sil- and sul-(10) O.E. sel-, siel, etc. sel-

In the tables the variants of each form are placed in order of the relative frequency in which each occurs. Brackets indicate that the forms which they enclose are very rare.

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Landon etc.

		2.00	
B. Accidence.	Kent.	Essex. City.	Middles. and L. London.
(11) 3rd Pres. Sing. Pres. Indic.	-c <i>þ</i>	-ер -ер	-þ, -t, -eþ
(12) Pl. Pres. Indic	-еþ	-ер	early -ep (-en); later chiefly -en (-ep)
(13) Pres. Part.	-inde	-inde, -ende	-inde -ende
(14) P. P.	1-; -0	i-; -en, -e	ge-, ien, later -en, -e
(15) 3rd Pers. Pron. Pl.	hi, hir,	hi, her,	hi, hij; later thei, her,
(16) Acc. Pl. 3rd Pers. Pron.	his	his	his, is, in early texts; later only hem

- § 204.

SOUTH-WEST

A. Sounds.

- (1) O.E. \vec{z} (W.Gmc. \vec{a}) becomes \vec{e} [\vec{e}]; $d\vec{e}d = [d\vec{e}d]$. in early London Dialect.)
- (2) $\tilde{u} \, [\tilde{y}]$ for O.E. \tilde{y} except before front consonant. appears to have been a large area in which progressive unrounding to \$ took place. On the other hand, in another part of S.W. not yet precisely determined, the rounded vowel seems to have remained until ousted by the other type from surrounding areas. (As in W. and Central Midl. except that unrounding before front consonant is less consistently carried out here than in Sthn.)
- (3) O.E. ≠ remains as e [ĕ] in Early texts; this type, however, replaced by Angl. & earlier than in Kentish.
- (4) O.E. ā becomes [5], written o, oa, etc. (as in Kent and Midl.).
- (5) W.S. že (i-mutation of ea), Late W.S. ž, retained at first, and written u, or often ui when long, but soon ousted by non-Sax. ē-type.
 - (6) O.E. initial f- written u, v (as in Kentish).

B. Accidence.

The principal features are the same as those noted for Kentish.

The forms of Fem. Pers. Pron. Nom. are heo, hue, he, ha. The Pret. of Str. Vbs. formed according to P. P. type.

§ 205.

MIDLAND (See opposite page.)

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF THE MIDLAND DIALECTS

	Centr. W. Midl.	e, later a	uo .	al; -ar	-old		[e] rarely [e]	2	n; i+n		e, u; e+back	ē; al-, later el	ēgh, ēy		XO P	XQ.	-inde; (-iende)	hi, heo; heore;	heom Nomer his at	INEVER IIIS, CIC.	beo, hue, ha		beop, bûth, beb
WEST MIDL.	S.W. Midl.	ď	an	a	-5ld		10 10	Ξ	w before -ch, gg	only before #	e (u) early eo, u, o; e, u; e	E, (u); el	ēgh, ēy (to end of [14th c.)		w w	-ex	-inde; (-iende)	P Cid	is . Accordant	early 14th C.	heo; hue		beop, būp, bēp
	N.W. Midl.	early e; later a		ar; al	-old		<u> </u>	2	u; later i		e (n)	ē (ēa-i); al (al-i)	ey in West; I in [East of area		-es	-en; -es	-and	bey; hore; hom hi	Never his etc	וופגפו ווופי פורי	ho; later scho heo; hue	4150 \$ (35/16)	bën; aren
CENTRAL MIDL.			an				E Sth.; e Nth.	2	i, and u	forms	e; no rounded	e; -e1			eþ Sth.; -es Nth.	-eb; -es, -en Nth.	-ind Sth.; -and	Tyrii:					
EAST MIDL.	S.E.	early e, a; later	an (on) [a only]	er; ar	-eld; later ōld,	and a few sur-	[e] ([s])	except in Suff.	i, e; noe in Norf.	only in W.Norf.	WU .	o			-ex, ix; -es, -is	-en, -yn	ende; ande	he, later bey, etc.;	here; hem (pers.)	fith C.	(i)	and Ex.)	bēn; aren, arn,
	N.E.	8	an ur	-er-, -ar-	-5ld, (eld)		e and		0		, ;				-es, -ys; eð	-en, -yn; -ys, -s	and(e), -ende; -yng	3rd Pers. Pron. he, later pey; here, he, later pey, etc.;	bie ee 12th C	1113, C3, 13th to	she, sche, sho;	ישוניו פתב חווו	bēn, are
	A. Phonol.	(I) O.E. 28		rth.)	O.E. ea	(lengthened)	(4) O.E. 31		(6) O.E. ğ		(7) O.E. &	(8) O.E. ed-i	(9) O.E. eag- (10) O.E. sel-	B. Accidence.	(11) 3rd Sing. Preses, -ys; eð	(12) Pres. Pl. Ind.	(13) Pres. Part	(15) 3rd Pers. Pron.	N.G.D. Pl.		(17) Fem. Pron.	IV. Oluge	(18) Pres. Pl. of Be ben, are

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§ 206. NORTHERN

A. Sounds.

(1) O.E. \bar{a} not rounded as in Midl. and Sth. but fronted to $[\bar{x}]$, etc. The spelling a remains, but later the fronted vowel is often written ai.

(2) O.E. y unrounded to f. (As in E.Midl.)

(3) O.E. δ becomes a sound identical with that of Fr. u, with which it rhymes: e.g. sone—fortone. This Nthn. sound is written o, oi, oy, u, ui.

B. Accidence.

2nd and 3rd Pers. Pres. Sing. -s.

Pl. Pres. ends in -s.

Pres. Part. ends in -and.

Pret. Pl. of Strong Vbs. formed on type of Sing.

Fem. Pers. Pron. scho, etc.

Pron. of grd Pers. Pl.: pai, pair, paim, etc.; no h-forms. Loss of suffix syllable of Inf.

§ 207. SUMMARY OF THE HISTORY OF THE DIALECT OF LONDON TO BEGINNING OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

The accompanying table gives the chief phonological features and the characteristic points of accidence of a number of texts, written in London or the surrounding areas. As a basis of comparison, the features, on the one hand, of Vices and Virtues, which all recent students of the subject agree to regard as exhibiting the Essex dialect, and those of Essex Pl. Ns. are added, and, on the other, the phonological features of Middles. Pl. Ns.

It will be seen that the phonological character of the old City of London names is, as Heuser pointed out, practically identical with that of Essex, although in Nos. 6, 9, and 10 the

influence of the Middles. dialect is observable.

The principal features which distinguish this (Essex and City) dialect type from that of Middles. of the same period are No. (1), a where early Middles., both in texts and Pl. Ns., has e; No. (2), Ess. al, Middles. el; No. (4), Ess. an, Middles. en; Nos. (5) and (6), Ess. \bar{a} , Middles. $\bar{e} = [\bar{e}]$; Nos. (7) and (8), where Ess. has no trace of a rounded vowel, whereas Middles. Pl. Ns. and the texts have very definite traces of this in the early period; Nos. (9) and (10), Ess. and City prevailing e, contrasted with typical Middles. i or u; No. (11), where Ess. has only \bar{e} whereas the early Middles. or London texts have occasional i and u; No. (12), where Ess. has only sel- whereas early Middles. has occasional sil-, syl-.

TABLE showing main typical features of London-Middlesex Dialect, contrasted with that of Essex and the City of London.

Davy. Chaucer. Hocel. Barthol. (1150-1300).	et, Hesel -el early; al later	-čld, later -ōld -en, an on Ess. border	Daneland -ē; a few ā on Ess.	e; but trace of rounded	F; traces of w and o	wandi; conly on Ess.	i, se generally long e; but	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·				,		
Hist. S. Barthol.	4 la-	-oold, -old	v	0 0	e	y, i	ē; ē	ત	thei; them;	them	-ith -eŏ, -yŏ;	y G	i- often	ф: ф
Hoccl.	ar; er		[ē, ē]	(e) (e)	10	I (ë)	i, c, (u) i; (e)		they; hire;	(a) • 4 · (c)	eth; -th -ith	-ing, -	i- freq.	en; -e -en; -e
Chaucer.	ar er	old; (holde old Inf.)	[ē ; ē]	[Ē; (Ē)]	ıı	i, u; ē	ji e ji	-198	hij; her thel; her; they; hem here	no his,	eth, -ith	-inge	i- freq.	ਉ
Davy.	a juli	-en [ē, ē]	e U	υ ψ	10		0		hij; her	no bis	-	-ing	1.4	ė;
Procl. Hem.	0	'면 닭	g,	æ, e eo, u	8		u, i (e)	sel-			en; eð	-inde		-en; -e
Trin. Homs.	a; (e) a, er (ar) alf, etc. all	eald, eld (-old;ald) en;	([an]) æ, ea	æ, ea e; (eo, u) eo, u	ie; (eo) eo	I, (u, ui);	i, w; (e) e; gist	sarppend	hie, he (þei)	hes, is	-ex -en : ex	inde;		en; (-e)
Lamb. Homs.	e; (a)	ald, æld; (ald)	41	e; ea	e; eo	4	u, i ē; (schup-	sil-, syl; sel-; sul- sel-	hy; he; hem, hie, he	hes	d tip	(e) -inde; -ende	*4	-en; -e -en; (-e) -en; -e -e; -en -e; -en
Westm.	æ, e; a er ell, all	eld, cald, gld; (old)	18g	10 0 10 0	e; eo, o	, (pd	e (u, i) i_1 , (u); (e) i_2 i_3 i_4 i_5 i_7 i_8 i_8 i_9	sil-, syl;	hi, hy; here;	hi (his)	-t, -t -et -et	(g)	. •98	ş
City N's.	e - e			(6)	IU	c (I, a) I	c (u, i)					,		
V. and V. Ess. Pl. Ns.	-alf,	-alp -eld -an (-æn,	-en) ā (æ, e)	(%) (%)	10	e	u u	sel.	hie (hi, he); here; hem	his, is, hes	-eð; (en)	-inde; -ende	÷.	¥ : \$
P. and V. City Westm. Lamb. Ess. Pl. Ns. Nrs. Ch. Homs.	ng pa	(3) O.Eeald -eld (4) O.Een(> an (-een -an	(5) O.E. æ1	(6) O.E. #3 (7) O.E. &	(8) O.E. 20	(9) O.E. y	10) O.E. ½	(12) O.E. sel-	(13) 3rd Pers. Pron. hie (hi, he); Pl. N.G.D. here; hem	(14) 3rd Pers. Pron. his, is, hes	(15) 3rd Pres. Sing. (16) Pl. Pres.	(17) Pres Part	(18) Str. P.P. (a) prefix	(b) ending

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It is thus evident that the City dialect was S.E. of the Ess. type, whereas that of the county itself was quite different, and belonged to a more westerly type. The early Westm. Ch. in respect of dialect is a kind of intermediate link between the City and county types; it shows the influence of the former, notably in points 1, 4, 5, 6, but it belongs more closely to Middles, proper; note points I, (occasional e); 2, (er, el); 4, -en as prevailing form; the rounded vowels in 7 and 8; the almost complete absence of e-forms in q and 10. Of the two early collections of Homilies, Trinity is rather nearer to the City type than Lambeth, but agrees far more closely with the Middles. Pl. Ns. and with the later dialect of London. The traces of City dialect are: prevailing & for * in 1; -alfand occasional -ar- in 2: the rare e in 9 and 10: the rare -anin 4. Of the characteristic City and Essex feature ā in 5 and 6 there appears to be no trace. Still more purely Middles. in phonology are the Lamb. Homs. This is particularly observable in 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, where the prevailing forms are clearly distinguished from those of the City and Essex. It is interesting to note that Lamb., Trin., and Westm. Ch. all agree with Ess. in using the form hes, is, in the Acc. Pl. of the Pron. of the 3rd Pers. Pl. This feature, which is found also in early S.E. Midl. texts, and in Kt. as late as the fourteenth century, may well have been general in the early Middles. dialect. The Procl. of Hen. III is very meagre in its evidence, and is obviously deliberately following as far as possible the conventional O.E. spelling. As far as it goes it agrees pretty closely with the phonology of Middles. Pl. Ns., and has none of the features characteristic of the City dialect, except the solitary e in 10. The later texts agree pretty closely among themselves in phonology and accidence, and exhibit on the whole that peculiar combination of features which, from the fourteenth century onwards, we recognize as the normal dialect of London, a type which early in the following century we begin to think of as the standard for official and literary English. Chaucer's frequent use of \tilde{e} for O.E. \tilde{y} , which is alien to the Middles. dialect proper, has already been discussed, § 151 (4) above.

Now if we compare the London English from Davy onwards, with that of the early City type on the one hand, and with that of the early texts and Pl. Ns. of London and Middlesex on the other, we find that it presents a consider-

able contrast to both in several respects.

We may enumerate the chief points of difference between the earlier and later forms of London and Middlesex dialect:

	Earlier Middles.	Later Middles. and London.
		(14th c. and later.)
(1) O.E. ž	chiefly e	a as sole form. (Probably
	10 1 1-	influence of City type.)
(2) O.E. eal+f;	-elf; -el, etc.	-alf, -all etc. (Probably
eall- etc.	-erd	-ard City
-eard- etc.	-ēld	-old practically the only form;
(3) O.Eeald-	-214	rare survivals helden (P.P.
etc.		etc.) in Chaucer (new form
		possibly from Bucks. dialect)
(4) O.E. ĕo	rounded vowel survives	no trace of rounded vowel;
(4) 0.2.0	to some extent;" un-	žsole forms; (due to gradual
	rounding not complete.	un-rounding process).
(5) O.E. \tilde{y}	i prevailing form; u	(a) un-rounding complete;
	often written; varying	i the usual form
	degrees of un-rounding	(b) some forms with rounding
	existing among differ-	re-introduced in 14th and
	ent speakers; e-type	15th c.'s; probably from
	very rare and found	Herts. (c) - forms far more frequent;
	only on Ess. border, or	introduced from City type
	in neighbourhood of City	introduced from City type
(6) O.E. an-i	City an-type fairly com-	-en the only type; an- type
(sendan etc.)	mon in easterly areas of	disappears even in City, and
(Sersitions Cic.)	county (Westm.), and	on Ess. border
	occasional in county	
	farther west; -en the	
	chief type	
(7) O.E. 2 and	City a type spread to	a- type completely vanished
æ²	Westm.; found in other	Hom Pondon
	parts of county on Ess.	Middlesex; (a) \bar{x}^1 evidently $[\bar{z}]$ as pre-
	borders. Prevailing	vailing type; occasional [ē]
	type [E]	in rhymes
		(b) 2 [8] practically uni-
		versal; rare [e] in rhymes
_		

It appears, then, that in the earliest M.E. period there were in London and Middlesex two very distinct dialectal types:
(1) the CITY TYPE, practically identical with that of Essex; and (2) the Middles. county type which we have called CENTRAL SOUTHERN. Westminster Chartulary exhibits an intermediate variety possessing several characteristic features from both of its neighbours, east and west.

The fourteenth century London dialect is a development of that of the Middles. county type, but by this time it has lost some of its earlier features, these having been ousted in favour of others, penetrating, whether from the City, whether from

Herts., whether from such a westerly area as Bucks.

NOTE. The chief peculiarities of the Accidence of the various texts are dealt with in Chapter IX below.

CHAPTER VII

HISTORY OF ENGLISH SOUNDS

III. THE MODERN PERIOD

§ 208. WE have seen in the preceding chapter that there occurs sporadically, in the MSS. of the period covered by the 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries, direct evidence that some of the vowel sounds are being altered from their original or earlier pronunciation, and are apparently tending towards one nearer to that of the present day. But what is direct evidence of change in one vowel sound may be at the same time indirect evidence that a change must have occurred in other sounds also. For if we are satisfied that the ou spellings for O.E. ō (§ 163) in bouk, touk, etc. imply that a stage resembling [ū] has been reached, we are bound to infer also that, before this stage was actually attained, O.E. & in hous, etc. had been altered, to some extent at least, from its original sound, though it need by no means have reached its present [au] stage. It is clear that if old \bar{o} had ever caught up old \bar{u} , so that there was a time when they were pronounced exactly alike, the subsequent history of the two sounds, now become one, must have been identical, and if the tendency which has made old \bar{u} into [au]had started after the new $[\bar{u}]$ had developed from \bar{o} , it must have affected all the words containing this old ô as much as those containing original [u], and we should now pronounce bauk, tauk for O.E. boc, toc, etc. We may say, then, that evidence, direct or indirect, exists, which proves that the tendencies which have made our present vowel sounds such as they are, were operative during the M.E. period.

When the moment arrives at which these tendencies culminate and when a considerable number of vowel sounds have been so far altered that they are either identical with the sounds of the present day, or so closely approximated to them that they resemble these far more nearly than they resemble the old so-called 'continental' sounds, then the age of whose speech this can be asserted must be claimed as part of the modern

period.

To refuse to designate as modern what is characteristically so in a dozen ways is to rob the term of all meaning as applied

to the history of English. From a body of evidence which appears to admit of no other interpretation, we conclude that by the first third, at latest, of the fifteenth century, over the greater part of England, the typical M.E. pronunciation had passed away, and that the greater number of the characteristic modern sounds were already developed, while the rest were far on the way to being so. By the beginning of the sixteenth century the actual vowel sounds of Standard English were practically those of to-day. The evidence for these statements will be given when we come to deal with the vowels in detail.

It is not asserted that the exact shade of sound now heard in Standard English had developed, in each case, in the corresponding form of English in the fifteenth century. But the following changes had certainly come about: (1) M.E. ā had been fronted; (2) M.E. \tilde{e}^1 had become [\tilde{i}]; (3) M.E. \tilde{e}^2 had become [e], and in some dialects had probably already been raised to [1]; (4) M.E. 1 had been diphthongized, probably to [∂i]; (5) M.E. tense \bar{o} had become \bar{u} , and the first shortening had already taken place, to [u], in some dialects; (6) M.E. u in run, bud, etc. had been un-rounded in many dialects, to something like [a], and since this change involves also the shortened " from new " (as in No. 5), cp. present-day glove, blood, etc., it follows that this shortening preceded the unrounding process; (7) M.E. a had been diphthongized, and had probably reached the [nu] stage, though in some dialects the first element had apparently been un-rounded, giving something very like our present [au] in south, etc.; (8) M.E. and Early Mod. au had been monophthongized to [5], e.g. in taught, all, etc.; (9) M.E. ēu, iu had either been monophthongized to $[\bar{y}]$ or still remained at the [iy] stage; in any case they rhymed with M.E. [v] from Fr. sources, and the spellings eu, ew, u are interchangeable-dewke 'duke', dew 'due' and hue for M.E. heu, O.E. heow' hewed', etc.; (10) M.E. ai had become a monophthong, probably [ē] by the end of the century; (II) M.E. [y] as in just, judge, etc., had been unfronted, or retracted to [z] in time to undergo un-rounding together with the [ii] mentioned in No. 6, and that in No. 5, so that early in the sixteenth century just rhymes with must; (12) M.E. a, in began, back, etc. had apparently become a front vowel [æ] in some dialects of English, although it would appear that the fronted type did not penetrate into Standard English for another century at least. Such a combination of differences from the typical M.E. vowel system, all of which can be proved to have existed in the fifteenth century, warrants us, for the moment, in placing the beginning of the Modern period in

that century; subsequent investigations may compel us to put it earlier still.

§ 209. Special Problems of the Modern Period.

The study of the written documents of the fifteenth century tends to be concentrated rather upon questions concerning chronological developments in the language than upon those varieties of dialect which are so striking a feature in M.E. writings. During the fifteenth century Regional dialect gradually disappears from written English, not only in works which have some pretensions to be called literature, but also from written documents of a private character. What is usually called London English, for this type first grew up in the Metropolis (§ 207), becomes more and more the predominating form, and is used before the end of the century, for all purposes, by persons from all parts of the country, so soon as they wish to communicate their thoughts in writing. This widespread use of London English has often been attributed to, or even dated from, the introduction of printing. But while undoubtedly the dissemination of works which every one could read helped to hasten the process, it had begun before Caxton's labours started, and the letters of John Shillingford, Mayor of Exeter (1447-50), and the Governance of England by Sir John Fortescue (1471-6), also a Devonian, are on the whole very fair representatives of the London English of the day, although the former contains a few unmistakable South Westernisms, while the latter appears to show no traces of provincialism. Indeed Gower, in the previous century, although a Kentishman, has but few marked provincialisms in his English writings. It seems probable, therefore, that if printing had never been invented at all, the London type would, from the pressure of social and political causes, and owing to the prestige, among writers, of that form of English used by Chaucer, have ultimately become the dominant dialect, the vehicle of literature, and the recognized medium for all writing. To ascribe the predominance of this dialect to Caxton is to misrepresent the facts. His labours promoted, but could not start, what had already begun.

But while provincial dialects become henceforth very unimportant, they did not die out simply because they were no longer used in writing. As we know, they flourish to-day as the normal means of verbal communication among thousands of our countrymen, sadly battered and mutilated it is true, and considerably modified by Standard English, but still preserving much that is strange in vocabulary, and even a few

genuine traces of their ancient phonological character. In the fifteenth century, however, the Regional Dialects of English, especially in districts remote from London, while sharing in those chronological changes which affected the language generally, still retained in the main their old typical regional character. Men continued, for several centuries longer, to speak the dialect natural to their native province, although the higher ranks, and others who had occasion to move about the country, acquired also, as a rule, the type of English employed in the metropolis, which was now gaining increasing currency as a spoken form, all over the country. The letters of Shillingford have been already referred to, as exhibiting traces of provincial influence, and the same is true of the private letters of the Paston's, the Cely's, and others of the fifteenth century. Much later, in the sixteenth and even in the seventeenth century, there are occasional traces of provincialism, in isolated forms, in private and in published writings, and in the rhymes of poets.

§ 210. The Spoken Standard.

It is difficult to prove, though we may surmise, the existence, during the fifteenth century, of a keen sense that one type of spoken English was 'good', the 'right' one to use, and that other types were vulgar. During the sixteenth century, the remarks of professional and other writers on pronunciation, a passage in Puttenham's Arte of English Poesie (1580), and scattered remarks occurring both in letters and published works, during this century, leave no doubt that a standard of speech was perfectly recognized, namely that of the Court, and of the upper classes who frequented it. Among others, Sir Thomas Edyot writes, in the Gouernour, of the sons of noblemen and gentlemen learning a 'corrupt and foul pronunciation' from their 'nourishes' and other 'folisshe women'. It is not to be supposed that the Standard at that time was anything like so definite and settled in its character as at present. Much greater latitude was permitted, than at present, in the use of variants in pronunciation and in grammatical forms. To speak with the accent of a rural district, even at Court, was not derogatory to the character and prestige of a gentleman, who might be supposed to speak the dialect in vogue on his own estate. Sir Walter Raleigh, in spite of his experience of the Court and of the world, and notwithstanding his many graces and accomplishments, never lost the accent of his native Devon. What was not tolerated, was to speak like a tradesman. And this brings us to an important point.

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- (1) The dialects, in the old sense of the term, the only one we need take account of in dealing with M.E., that is forms of speech associated with specific geographical areas, have passed out of literature, except as quaint and eccentric revivals. They have also largely perished in their native habitats, and are constantly losing ground even among the inhabitants of remote country villages. The schools, the parsons, and other founts of light, are gradually, sometimes deliberately, sometimes unconsciously, contributing to oust the native local speech, by precept and example. The place of the old local form is being taken by what is still called by some 'Standard English', and certainly it may be supposed to aim at reproducing that more current form which is known as 'good, educated,' English. The English nowspoken by the more sophisticated villagers certainly differs from the pure old local dialect, but is it identical with the English heard, let us say, in an Oxford Common Room, or in an Officers' Mess? We should probably say that it was not.
- (2) In large towns there are perhaps tens, or even hundreds, of thousands of persons who have never themselves spoken, nor heard their usual associates speak, a country dialect; whose parents and forbears for several generations have never spoken a rustic dialect. These persons, representing various occupations, and positions in life-errand-boys, shop-boys, mechanics, shop-keepers, clerks of various grades, and so on, have often what is called a 'vulgar' accent. Their speech is not a provincial dialect, and again it is certainly not that of the politest circles. What is it? It is evident that there are forms of English which are neither pure local dialect nor pure Standard English, although they may perhaps resemble the latter more than the former. Both the sophisticated rustic and the town vulgarian speak a form of the standard language, yet one far removed from the most refined and most graceful type.

We have to recognize the existence of two kinds of dialect, which owe their several origins to different circumstances.

The old provincial or local dialects, which it is convenient to call Regional Dialects, owe their long-standing differences to the factors of geographical isolation (see §§ 66, etc.). The other kind of dialects, which owe their variations from each other primarily to social causes, we may for convenience call Class Dialects.

Every one who does not speak a Regional dialect, speaks a Class dialect. Chief among the latter we must reckon what

is usually called Standard English, that is, the best and most refined type of English, that which in one form or another has long been usurping the place of the old Regional dialects. This Standard is, in origin, as we have seen, the speech of London, and the best type of it was formerly held to be that which grew up at the King's Court. But it would be misleading now, to speak of this as London English, since it is no longer confined to London, but is spoken all over the country among those who do not speak Regional Dialect. But since there are many types of pronunciation among these speakers, many varieties, that is, of Standard, some further definition is required. It is proposed to use the term Received Standard for that form which all would probably agree in considering the best, that form which has the widest currency and is heard with practically no variation among speakers of the better class all over the country. This type might be called Public School English. It is proposed to call the vulgar English of the Towns, and the English of the Villager who has abandoned his native Regional Dialect, Modified Standard. That is, it is Standard English, modified, altered, differentiated, by various influences, regional and social. Modified Standard varies from class to class, and from locality to locality; it has no uniformity, and no single form of it is heard outside a particular class or a particular area.

These facts are so patent that they have merely to be stated to command assent by all who consider questions of this kind.

The existence of Modified Standard is not only a reality, but it has an important bearing on the history of English. For while Received Standard is also a reality, it is a variable one, and changes from age to age, so that what in one age is elegant, polite and fashionable in speech, is held, within a few generations, to be old-fashioned, and may thence come to be considered vulgar. Conversely, what the Received Standard of one age considers vulgar, affected, absurd, may gradually pass into the Received Standard of a later day, and become fully accepted, and current among the best speakers. These changes in taste, and in the standards of 'correctness' and propriety, in speech, are due to that shifting of the social structure which, without violent cataclysms, has been constantly taking place, from economic and political causes, during the last two or three centuries. The result of this has been that the old upper classes, whose speech was the Received Standard when this first emerged from the chaos of uncouth provincialism, have been slowly mingled with the classes from below, who brought with them not only their ruder manners,

and new and strange tricks, of coarseness on one hand, and of squeamishness on the other, but also their various types of Modified Standard. The new men, it is true, learned the speech of the class they entered, but they put, and left, their own characteristic marks upon it. The changes which, as we shall have occasion to note later on, have befallen Received Standard since the time of Elizabeth, are very largely, as it appears, due to the influence, continuously exerted from age to age, of Modified Standard in one form or another. For the last three or four hundred years, the influence of Regional Dialect upon the main current of English speech appears to have been almost nil, at any rate as concerns pronunciation and grammar. Some trifling influence on the vocabulary may perhaps be discernible from this source.

§ 212. Changes in Received Standard during the Modern Period.

To make the bearing of the above general remarks clearer, and their application more concrete, it is desirable, even at this stage, to go into a little more detail as to the precise nature of those changes, or shiftings, in the standard, which are alluded Speaking generally, we may say that in the actual sounds of English speech, there has been comparatively little change since perhaps the middle of the sixteenth century. Yet much has happened, not only in respect of the idioms, and the grammatical forms used, but also in the pronunciation. What has happened is that although, in the main, the stock of sounds is the same, or nearly so, as it was at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, the distribution of them is different. This means that we now use in many cases, in a given word, not a type of pronunciation which has developed by the ordinary processes of sound change from that which was current in Elizabeth's time, but a different type altogether, a type which certainly existed in the sixteenth century, but which, so far as our evidence goes, was not the current type in use among the best speakers, but was perhaps then confined to a comparatively small group. It is certain that in the sixteenth century, and far on into the eighteenth century, words which in M.E. contained & s, e.g. stream, dream, heat, meat, sea, and dozens more, were pronounced with a mid-front vowel, probably tense [e], and that the above words rhymed, and were used by the poets as rhyming, with such words as name, fate, away respectively. We now pronounce all the words of the first group with [1]. But nothing could be more mistaken than to suppose that in this case [e] has become [i]

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since the early eighteenth century, by a phonetic change parallel to that which long before had made M.E. [e] into [i]. If such a late change had taken place, it must have involved also words containing M.E. a, and the second group of words above would now be [nim, fit], etc. No; the change of M.E. ₹ to [i] did indeed take place, but in the fifteenth century, and it did not, apparently, affect the London dialect. This new type of pronunciation, though it occasionally appears in a very few words of the stream class as early as the sixteenth century, was evidently not the type current among either the courtiers or the poets. The change must have been confined to a small group of speakers, the majority, including speakers of the Received Standard of the day, long adhering to the other type. During the latter part of the eighteenth century it is evident that gradually, word after word containing M.E. 28 came to be pronounced according to the [i] type. Now, we pronounce in this way all words of this class, except break, great, and steak. What has happened is that for some reason or other one type has been gradually abandoned, and another gradually adopted. See § 232.

Again, during the eighteenth century we notice a gradual giving up of the type with -ar- in M.E. words which had -er-. Thus learn, servant, service, heard, sermon, divert, diversion, etc., etc. appear to be pronounced according to the fashion in which we now pronounce them, by an increasing number of speakers, after the middle of the eighteenth century, whereas they were formerly pronounced [lān, sāvənt, hād, divāfən], etc., or at any rate according to the type which at the present time would be pronounced in this way had it survived, as indeed it has in other words, such as hart, heart, hearth, Derby, etc.

Here again, one type has been given up among the best speakers, and another adopted. The same thing has happened in the pronunciation of dozens of isolated words. For instance, Rome, gold, oblige, yellow, farthing, Edward were pronounced by polite speakers [rūm, gūld, oublīdž, jælə, fā(r)din, ɛdə(r)d], and some of these pronunciations were still heard within living memory, though they are now all passed away except among the vulgar.

There are other isolated words whose pronunciation has been changed during the lifetime of those who are now but middle-aged, of which the older and the newer types are still both current. Thus humour, wais tooat, for ehead, landscape, of ten, neighbour hood, handkerchief, until a few years ago were universally pronounced by good speakers, as [jum>, weskət, firid, lænskip, fin, of n, neibrud, hænkət [if] respectively; now, even otherwise good speakers

are sometimes heard to say [hjūmə, weistkout, föhed, lændskein. ɔftən, hænkət[if], while [neibəhud] is now almost universal. Yet within the memory of the present writer, all the pronunciations indicated in the second group were considered hopelessly vulgar, and indeed are still felt to be so by many, though they are gradually getting a footing in Received Standard, and in a generation or so will no doubt be fully established there. There is small doubt that all these alterations in the older Received Standard came originally from below, and represent attempts at greater correctness and refinement on the part of persons who lacked the tradition of the old established polite usage. The latest innovations cited above are the result of the same process, and come ultimately from the same source as the older substitutions. They are, in fact, all examples of the influence of Modified Standard. Enough has perhaps been said to indicate that no student of the history of English can afford to ignore this factor. It may be added that whatever influence is now exerted by the Regional Dialects, upon Received Standard, generally comes through the medium of some form of Modified Standard.

Some fairly categorical statements have been made in the preceding paragraphs, about the pronunciation of English, during the fifteenth and following centuries, and we cannot with propriety delay any longer a statement of the grounds on which these were made, and a description of the kind of evidence available.

This may be grouped under four main heads:—(I) Spellings in such documents as are not written purely according to scribal tradition, and which are not characterized by a rigid adherence to the rules of 'correct' spelling; (2) Rhymes of poets; (3) General considerations of the whole history of English; (4) Statements by writers on pronunciation, and grammarians, concerning the English of their own day; this source is not available until the end of the first third of the sixteenth century. We proceed to deal with these points in order.

Sources of information concerning the history of English Pronunciation since Chaucer

§ 213. (1) SPELLINGS

It was formerly held that soon after the close of the fourteenth century, and especially after the introduction of printing, English spelling had become so fixed and conventional that little or nothing could be learnt from it. Scribes

it was said, and still more printers, no longer altered the spelling to suit a changing pronunciation. The amount of obvious truth in this statement was just sufficient to prevent people from recognizing the still greater amount of misapprehension which it gave birth to, and the unfortunate error which it suggested. It is true that in the fifteenth century, no less than in the fourteenth, or earlier, the most careful scribes spell according to a traditional plan. They take no account, except now and then, when the human machine fails for a moment, of the facts of pronunciation, so far as these were the result of changes arising naturally in the course of time, though, fortunately, they do record dialectal variants. It almost seems, indeed, as if the scribes were determined that the truth should not leak out through any act of theirs. It is also true that Caxton and the other early printers, instead of bringing English spelling up to date, as had long been desirable, simply took over the methods of the most 'correct' and conventional scribes they could find, and they may be said to have stereotyped English spelling for ever, in all its essential features. But even Caxton and his immediate followers do occasionally, though rarely, depart from convention, and lapse for a moment into a phonetic spelling. We may note in passing that these occasional phonetic spellings continue to occur in a sporadic way in printed books for several centuries. Thus those who know what to look for, though they do not always perhaps include those who know most of textual criticism, may find very informing spellings in the early Folios and Quartos of Shakespeare. There is, however, another, and by no means uninteresting class of writing, much of which has now been printed, which yields information of great value for our purpose. While in the fourteenth century there are but few private letters in English written by the hands of their real authors, from early in the fifteenth century onwards, private persons wrote their letters more and more in English, and with their own hands. Fortunately many collections of these have been preserved. Now the importance of the private, often unlearned person, compared with the professional scribe, is that the former, no matter how lofty his station in life, very often cared but little for scribal tradition, constantly forgot it, and therefore drifted unconsciously into a spelling which expressed, more or less faithfully, his pronunciation. The list of collections of letters and diaries, given on p. 13 above, represents only a small portion of this kind of material which has been already printed, but as a glance shows, even this short list includes documents ranging

from the first quarter of the fifteenth century to about the same part of the eighteenth. It is difficult to over-rate the importance of the evidence which these writings afford. Many of them are so natural, unstudied, and artless, that in reading them we almost feel that we are overhearing conversation.

When we find a certain kind of spelling which differs from that of M.E. tradition, occurring, whether in the same word, or in a whole class of words all containing the same sound, independently, in document after document throughout several centuries, this in itself establishes a strong presumption that such a departure from tradition has a meaning, and that it expresses some reality in the speech of those who make it. When further it turns out that these occasional spellings, as it is convenient to call them, point in the direction of changes which, as we know from other sources, have actually taken place in English; when we have ourselves heard the pronunciations which the spellings suggest; when even the Grammarians indicate the same pronunciations, sometimes both by description and by a simple phonetic spelling, identical with that into which the letter-writers, etc., have naturally and unconsciously lapsed in their hasty, unstudied writing; when the pronunciation thus suggested is already implied also by the poets in their rhymes, it would be rash indeed to refuse to credit the evidence thus afforded. The fact is, that so far from the spelling of the fifteenth century being valueless as a guide to the pronunciation of the day, it is actually more conclusive and enlightening, if only we study it in the right kind of documents, than is the spelling of most documents written from the beginning of the thirteenth to the end of the fourteenth century. If these facts were not fully recognized until quite lately, this is simply because the rich treasury of information about spoken English which exists in the numerous collections of private papers of all kinds, has been for a long time neglected and unexplored by students of our language. A vast mine of valuable ore, still almost unquarried by English philologists, awaits investigation, in the many volumes of State Papers, and in the publications of the Surtees and Camden Societies, to mention no more. And these by-ways of literature will supply us with information, not merely on the pronunciation of the past, but on the grammatical forms, the current vocabulary of everyday life, and on colloquial idiom as In fact the attentive perusal of such collections as the Paston Letters, the Cely Papers, Gabriel Harvey's Letters, those of Lady Hungerford, of Queen Elizabeth and the Verneys, brings the reader into a more intimate touch with the spoken language, and gives a clearer view of some aspects of the genius and spirit of the centuries to which they belong, than can be gained from the study of the great works of literature alone.

The credit of first pointing out, in a conclusive manner, the value of the occasional spellings as throwing light on pronunciation, must be given to Professor Zachrisson of Upsala, who, in his very important work *The Pronunciation of English Vowels from 1400–1700* (see Bibliogr., p. 11), brought together a considerable number of these spellings from documents written in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and proved by his acute interpretation of this new evidence, that the chronology of the Modern English sound changes, as commonly accepted, must be reconsidered, and that it should be dated much earlier

than students of the subject had hitherto believed.

Subsequent and more extended investigations on the same lines have confirmed Professor Zachrisson's views in all vital points, and we may now perhaps, with some confidence, feel justified in going even farther than he was inclined to go in 1912, in putting the origin of the principal characteristic Modern features of English back into the past. (See also § 152.) It. certainly does not follow that because the first spelling actually noted, which indicates a 'new' pronunciation, occurs, let us say, in a document written in 1430, that this is the earliest date at which the change in question was fully accomplished. We may be quite right in saying that it was accomplished at latest by then, but we are not bound to any particular earlier limit. This must always be a matter of speculation so long as the evidence is defective. Caution is necessary in all investigation, but while we must guard against rashness, we must also beware of undue timidity.

§ 214. (2) What can be learnt from the Rhymes of Poets

The study of rhymes may throw most useful light on our problems, but the limitations of this source of information must be faced, and we must not base too much upon rhymes alone, unsupported by other evidence. In the first place it is clear, that supposing we are persuaded that our rhymes are really sound and reliable, all they can establish, in a given case, is that two words have a common sound, but the rhyme by itself cannot inform us what the precise character of that sound was. To determine this we must invoke help from an independent quarter. Thus, if we find the word sea rhyming

in a whole series of poets, within a given period, with such words as obey, play, sway, away, etc., there is a probability that the vowel in sea was pronounced in the same way as that in the other words, but we must ascertain by further inquiries what that common sound was. Such a rhyme as care-were, occurring as it does in 1420, arrests attention. We know that the older poets, even in the fourteenth century, would not habitually rhyme these two words. We know also that the vowel in were was never anything but a front vowel, generally $[\bar{\epsilon}]$, in a stressed position, and that care has \bar{a} in M.E. Now $[\bar{a}, \bar{\epsilon}]$ are so different in sound that it seems highly improbable that even the worst poet should rhyme them together. The inference is that M.E. a had already been fronted, and that the rhyme intended was [ker-wer]. Is there any reason why this change should not have taken place as early as 1420? We may further ask why should the rhymester have departed from M.E. tradition at all, unless his rhyme were a good one. But if the rhyme were not good, that is, if M.E. a had not been fronted, and assimilated in sound to M.E. e2, how came he to anticipate a sound change which certainly did take place at one time or another, since our present-day pronunciation, in which were—care do rhyme, is the result of it, unless it had already taken place in the form of English with which he was familiar? Here, by applying a little elementary historical knowledge, and using ordinary common sense, we reach the view that this rhyme establishes a strong probability that M.E. a had become a front vowel as early as 1420.

Again, we know that in M.E., a and other short vowels were lengthened in open syllables, and therefore that such a word as blace 'black', must have had inflected forms such as blake, and smal, inflected forms smale, as in Chaucar's smale foules, These doublets have now disappeared, but they survive in the surnames Blake and Smale, and they may well long have survived as variants, by the side of the originally short forms black and small. The history of the language teaches us how these forms arose, and we are therefore not surprised to find them in the rhymes of sixteenth-century poets e.g. in Sackville's rhyme black-lake, and Surrey's smale (here the actual spelling is retained) with tale, pale, bale, etc. Such a rhyme as Milton's end-fiend would be surprising from the present point of view, but the history of English informs us that vowels were lengthened before -nd, and that eend is not an uncommon M.E. spelling; further, the survival of this type is confirmed by Cooper (1685), who writes eend to express the pronunciation of the word. A careful survey of the rhymes of several of the principal poets of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, if checked by the application of critical tests such as the occurrence of occasional spellings which point to a type of pronunciation identical with that demanded in order to constitute a good rhyme, and an appeal to the testimony of contemporary writers on English pronunciation, establishes the fact that although, here and there, out-and-out bad rhymes do occur, even in the best poets, these writers present on the whole a singularly faithful mirror of the speech of their time. Again and again some rhyme which appears freakish is shown to be consistent with a type of pronunciation actually current when the rhyme in question was made. a valuable piece of information, which has its interest also for the student of our older literature, and entitles us to urge the importance of rhymes as contributory to, and confirmatory of, other kinds of evidence.

It must be borne in mind, however, that poets are usually conservative in their use of language, and that they follow a tradition set by their great predecessors. This may lead them, basing their usage upon the authority of earlier poets, to use rhymes which are no longer perfect, though they once were so. These purely traditional rhymes are usually of the class known as eye-rhymes, such as wood—flood, love—prove, etc., which survive to the present day. Such rhymes need to be tested in order to discover, from other sources, whether the two words thus linked together really had the same vowel in

the current pronunciation of a given age.

A few instances may be given in which rhymes apparently faulty are fully vindicated as good and perfect during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Earl of Surrey rhymes the Past Participle swollen with bemoan, clearly implying that no *l* sound was pronounced in the former word. We might hesitate to accept this as proved merely on account of this rhyme, were the existence of this very form not confirmed

by the spelling swone in Machyn's Diary about 1550.

Such rhymes as sweat—heat, heath—breath, which are common in the sixteenth century, may certainly be accepted as genuine, since we know that the vowel was long in all these words in M.E., and these rhymes may be taken as indicating that the old quantity still survived in the sixteenth century. Rhymes may further supply evidence of the currency of a provincial type in certain words, as when Waller rhymes build with field, and Dryden with yield and field. There is independent confirmation of the use of 'beeld' a S.E. form in London in the sixteenth century.

Shakespeare rhymes dally—folly, which an ill-informed reader might take for a 'poetic licence'; but it is proved a perfect rhyme from three different sources: (1) the unrounding of M.E. & is a well-known process, and had taken place in the Western dialects at least as early as the first quarter of the fifteenth century; (2) the spellings show that this type of pronunciation had penetrated into London English among high and low (e.g. Q. Eliz., and Machyn); (3) the Grammarians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries recognize the type, and late in the seventeenth century Vanbrugh burlesques it as a fashionable trick of speech. See § 244 (2).

§ 215 (3) HISTORICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Since our whole inquiry is of an historical character, it would seem just that every problem which arises in connexion with it should be judged in the light of our general and particular knowledge concerning the history of English. Success in the interpretation of the various kinds of evidence from which we construct our picture of English between the period say of Chaucer and that of Johnson, depends principally upon the judicious use of philological knowledge in a wide sense. necessary on the one hand to bear in mind the antecedents of any given form, in M.E., and on the other to consider what its subsequent development has been down to the present day. Further, the student must never lose sight of the existence of variant forms, whether of dialectal origin, or arising within any dialect owing to combinative changes. These may vary in the same word according to different phonetic conditions produced severally, in inflected or uninflected forms, or from alterations in the incidence of stress in the word or sentence. It must be remembered that a given pronunciation in the sixteenth, seventeenth, or any other century, necessarily implies a certain ancestral type in M.E., and a certain development at the present day. If, therefore, we are led, by evidence of any kind, to reconstruct for the sixteenth or seventeenth century, a form which does not square with known facts concerning the language before and after this period, due allowances being made for variants of different kinds, then we must conclude either that our interpretation of the evidence is at fault, or that the particular piece of evidence on which we are relying is untrustworthy. Several instances of the importance of applying the historical test to rhymes have been given in the preceding section, but one or two more may be cited. Our purpose for the moment, it must be remembered, is not primarily to show

that good poets generally employ genuine rhymes, but to discover whether a particular type of pronunciation was in vogue at a given time. The spelling gretter for the Comparative of great is used by Palladius, Shillingford, Fortescue, Gregory, and many others in the fifteenth century. A century later. Spenser rhymes get her-greater. In spite of the spelling of the last word, it appears that the rhyme necessitates a short vowel here, the same in fact as seems to be suggested by the fifteenthcentury spelling just quoted. A reference to M.E. Gr. at once informs us that grettre was a normal M.E. form as the Comparative of grēte, and further, that the vowel shortening is due to a regular process which took place before the consonantal combination t+r. Here a reference to earlier stages of the language establishes the ancient existence of this type of Comparative with a short vowel, historical phonology explains the reason for the shortening, the fifteenth-century spellings show the persistence of the type far into that century, and in the light of all this, we are justified in taking Spenser's rhyme to prove that the form was in use for at least

another century.

Milton rhymes God with abode, and load, Dryden with abode, Pope with road, Gray with abode. Are we justified in assuming that a form [god] really existed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries? Price (1668) definitely states that God and goad were pronounced alike. Even this might not be conclusive unless we are assured that such a form as [god] could really exist. The word has a short vowel now, and was short in O.E. But we remember that vowels were lengthened in open syllables in M.E. and that this process, which produced M.E. prôte from O.E. prota 'throat', would also produce Godes, Gode in the inflected syllables. We know that a type so derived was often transferred to the uninflected cases, as in yoke from O.E. geoc, M.E. 30k (N. and Acc.) but 30ke (Dat.), etc. whence the modern form. Having established that God might have existed, and might have survived into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it is not unreasonable to believe that Price was telling the truth when he says that it did survive, and further that in the cases cited above, the poets were making use of this type. It is certainly open to question whether Gray, and perhaps even Pope, were not merely following tradition, but by an appeal to the history of the form we can see how the tradition arose, and what it was based on. Only historical considerations again can help us to put in its proper place another variant pronunciation of God [god], which survives to-day as a vulgarism or provincialism. This type may with considerable certainty be

surmised as underlying another rhyme of Pope's, of this word with unawed, and is indicated earlier still in the spelling Gaud

in Otway's play, The Soldier's Fortune (1681).

That this is not the same type with the lengthened vowel that has just been discussed, is shown by the equation of the latter with goad, which has now become [goud], and it cannot be from a form with M.E. lengthening, because M.E. o2, as we see, has not developed into [5], but into [ou] at the present time. The vowel in [god] is rather to be regarded as a late lengthening from M.E. God, which took place perhaps as late as the seventeenth century in certain Regional or Social dialects, some forms from which, this being formerly one, got a footing in Standard English. We may compare the vowel in cost, soft, froth, and many other words ending in -s, -f, -th, often pronounced by speakers of Received Standard as [kost, soft, frob], which must also be due to a late lengthening. It is possible that broad [brod] from M.E. brode may be derived from a shortened brod, subsequently lengthened in the same way as M.E. God, froth, cost, etc. The pronunciation of broad in present-day Received Standard is one of the minor puzzles, for the form we should expect is [broud]. It has been suggested that the [5] is derived from some Regional dialect which has developed M.E. \bar{o}^2 in this way, but the above explanation seems quite as likely to be right.

Enough has been said here and in other sections to show the importance of applying the test of known philological facts to whatever conclusions we may feel inclined to draw from any kind of evidence. We may include under this head the line of argument pursued in § 208 above in regard to the relative chronology of sound changes, and the use of the direct evidence that one change has taken place, as indirect evidence

for the start, or completion, of another.

§ 216. (4) THE EARLY WRITERS ON PRONUNCIATION

A short list of books on English Pronunciation is given above, p. 12. There are many dozens of books of this kind, and for full lists of them, and some account of the various writers, the reader must be referred to Ellis's Early English Pronunciation, Sweet's History of English Sounds, Jespersen's Modern English Grammar, pt. i, and Zachrisson's Pronunciation of English Vowels. We can give here only a very brief and general account. Most of these writers are Englishmen, but some are foreigners. The latter describe English pronunciation for the benefit of those of their own countrymen who

wish to learn our language. The former have various objects in view-to settle how English ought to be pronounced; to improve the current pronunciation of their time by pointing out common errors, vulgarisms, etc.; to reform English spelling.

These authors vary greatly in intellectual calibre. There are distinguished scholars among them, and bishops, and there are country clergymen of no particular attainments: some appear to be mere cranks. For many years now, students of English here, in Germany, in Scandinavia, and in America, have devoted much patient ingenuity to the scrutiny of these varied dissertations, to comparing one statement with another, and endeavouring to extract a meaning from material much of which is obscure and unsatisfactory. The chief criticism that must be directed against these writers is that very few of them. before the middle of the seventeenth century, have an adequate knowledge of speech sounds. They are bad observers, and they do not know how to describe intelligibly what they do observe. Further, their method is faulty, and they are obsessed by the 'letters'. They invariably start from the written symbols, and attempt to give an account of the 'powers' of these. They are disinclined to admit the existence of vowel sounds which do not fit into the system of the classical languages, and of the chief European tongues. The English writers of the sixteenth century, for instance, are very loath to admit that the symbol a in English expresses sounds quite different from those expressed by it in Latin and Greek. The French writers of this period, it is true, are less prejudiced, and do not mind telling us that the long vowel sound expressed by a in English is that of French ai, or &.

A very unsatisfactory feature in these descriptions of sounds is that most of the writers, before Wallis and Cooper, do not appear to understand what a diphthong is, from the point of view of a phonetician, and it is generally doubtful whether they grasp that a sound expressed by two letters may be a monophthong, and that, on the other hand, a single letter may, in the conventional spelling, express a genuine diphthongal sound. It may be doubted whether our Grammarians would have recognized a diphthong in how, out, etc., had the sound not been written with two vowel symbols. The early descriptions of the sounds spelt au, aw, and ai, give rise to the

gravest suspicions of their adequacy and accuracy.

In the latter part of the seventeenth century Wallis (1643) and Cooper (1685) mark the beginning of a new era in knowledge of the nature of speech sounds, and in the power to describe them, no less than in acuteness and honesty of

observation. In the next century much may be learnt from Jones (1701), Baker (1724), Elphinston (1765-87), and Walker (1785-1801). It is best not to trust the Grammarians before Wallis as to the character of the vowel in a given word or group of words, unless their statements are confirmed by the occasional spellings; it is not always safe to trust the later ones, when they tell us that such and such a pronunciation is 'barbarous'. If we have evidence that the mode of speech which the Grammarians condemn was in vogue among wits. and courtiers, and poets, we shall hesitate to accept the former's strictures as final. But, in spite of their many limitations, it would be very unwise to ignore even the sixteenth-century Grammarians altogether. We may often believe them as to the quantity of a vowel, though they may give quite a false impression, or none at all, of its quality. We may trust them when they put a number of words together as being all pronounced with the same vowel, or when they bracket two, or sometimes three, words together as being pronounced alike, or 'nearly alike'. These things can often be tested by the usage of the poets in their rhymes, and as we cannot suspect poets and pedants of being in collusion to deceive posterity, we may assume that agreement between them implies the truth. Lastly, the Grammarians are often peculiarly instructive when they warn their readers against some form of speech. We may take it for granted that these writers will not invent a pronunciation which no one uses, merely for the sake of deriding it, and therefore that what they condemn had an actual existence.

The Grammarians sometimes employ a rough and ready phonetic spelling to drive home their meaning, and curiously enough this is often identical with that into which the careless letter-writers slide, quite naturally and unconsciously, to express what is clearly the same sound. Thus, when Gill (1621) writes skallers 'scholars' to illustrate a type of pronunciation which he despises, he is merely expressing the unrounding of M.E. & of which we have evidence from the same kind of spelling (a instead of o) just 200 years earlier, and, nearer to his time, from precisely the same spellings, in Machyn, and in Q. Elizabeth when she wrote stap for stop; a type of pronunciation also which Shakespeare had in his mind when he rhymed dally and folly. When Gill writes liv for leave, we see that he refers to the change of M.E. [\$\bar{\varepsilon}\$ to [\$\bar{\varepsilon}\$], a type of pronunciation abominable in his eyes, which, though not yet widespread, we know, both from much older spellings with i and from the rhymes of Sackville, Spenser, and Shakespeare, was in occasional use,

even by Q. Elizabeth herself, during the sixteenth century, and which was destined, 150 years later, to become the sole

type used in Received Standard.

We have now indicated some of the chief principles of method applicable to the problems which confront us, have emphasized some of the more important considerations which the student should bear in mind in attempting to grapple with them, and have briefly surveyed the main sources from which information is to be derived.

In this, as in other investigations, it is wise to seek light from every available source, and to compare the results which each yields with those derived from the other channels of information. When several, or all, of the avenues of approach converge on a single point, we may feel some confidence in the final result.

THE VOWELS IN DETAIL

§ 217. M.E. ă (cp. § 160) is fronted to [æ].

So far as the testimony of the Grammarians goes, the old back sound remained in the 'best English' throughout the sixteenth century. Early in the next century, however, there are indications of fronting in their descriptions, but it is not till Cooper (1685) that we have a definite description of a low front. It is certain, however, that the sound had developed long before this. Already in the sixteenth century Palsgrave indeed hints, with disapproval, at the existence of another sound than [a]. A front pronunciation is pretty certain from Shakespeare's rhymes scratch—wretch (Viëtor, Sh. Pr., p. 208), neck-back (Horn, § 40), both from Venus and Adonis. The following occasional spellings suggest a much earlier existence of the fronted *owel:-thenking 'thanking' Dk. of Buckingham, P. Letters i, p. 61, 1442-55; Bokenam, venyschyd, Agn. 603, wecheman ib. 295, 1443; Gregory, becheler 203, jesper 209, fethem 'fathom' 213, before 1467; Thos. Pery, Ellis 2. 2. Fenewery, p. 142, 1539; Crenmer, Machyn, p. 57, 1547-50; 'if you hed him', Alleyne, p. 32, 1593; settisfie Mrs. Basire, p. 135, 1655.

In some parts of the country, then, the fronting appears to have begun in the fifteenth century and been completed by the end of that century; the fronted type seems to have been introduced slowly into the Standard Language, and was

As a result of an examination of the MSS., Zachrisson now vouches for in the following forms—rensackyd, Marg. Paston (1450); fend, M.E. fund found, Pref., M. Paston (1450); begen began, a servant in Past. Letts (1457). See Engl. Pronunc. taught by Wm. Bullokar, pp. 139-40.

perhaps not fully accepted until towards the end of the sixteenth century. It took the Grammarians some time longer to recognize, and to find means of describing, the new sound. Once established, [æ] has remained unchanged.

Combinative developments of M.E. \check{a} in the Modern Period. \S 218. The combination al becomes [aul].

This process is very similar to that described in §§ 171.7 (a), 196, 183 above, or to the O.E. Fracture. It took place primarily in stressed syllables, when -al was final, as in all, small, fall, etc., also when al is followed by another consonant—salt, malt, talk, bald, half, calf. When a yowel follows the l, no diphthongization

occurred-hallow, fallow, valley, etc.

The diphthong, or some later development of this, is fully established at least as early as the third quarter of the fifteenth century, as is shown by the spellings in the Cely Papers (1473-88), e.g. Tawbot, p. 46, aull 'all' passim; schawl be, which is from the old stressed type. The earliest Grammarians all describe a diphthong in these and other similar words, but no weight can be attached to their statements on this head. This [au] like the older M.E. au (§§ 171.7 (a), 196, 183) very early became [5] except before lip-cons. Its history will, however, be discussed under M.E. au. See § 260 below.

The pronunciation [51] at the present day always implies

an earlier [aul].

NOTE. Shall = $[\int \mathbb{R}^2]$ is derived from Early Mod. shall without diphthongization. This is the unstressed form. Shall would also occur in the breath-group shall. On the other hand, the strong form shall is recorded by the early Grammarians, and its descendant $[\int \mathbb{R}^2]$ is heard to-day in some dialects.

§ 219. M.E. ă before [s, f, p].

In M.E. words like aske, gras, passen, etc.; chaf, staf, craft, after, etc.; bah, pah, etc., the vowel was first fronted in the usual way, giving [t]æf, græs, pæh] and so on, and then lengthened to [t]æf, græs, pæh], etc. This [æ] was again retracted to [a] giving the present-day [t]æf, græs, pæh]. The early Grammarians appear to differ in their pronunciation of these groups of words, just as we differ to some extent nowadays. It is difficult to fix the date of this lengthening, but such spellings as crooft 'croft' Coventry Leet Bk., pp. 43 and 46, 1420 and 1443; geests 'guests', ib. p. 29; also gueast Roister Doister; toossed 'tossed' Euphues 208; and moathes 'moths' ib., p. 34; Cely Papers marster (= æ)?; Palladius, 1420, graas 4. 1080, seem to indicate that it was very early, since, apart

from the two last forms, there is no reason for supposing that \check{a} would escape a process which lengthened \check{e} and \check{o} . The period when $[\bar{x}]$ was retracted to $[\bar{a}]$ is also uncertain. Cooper, 1685, still gives $[\bar{x}]$ in cast, past, path, carp, grant, etc. Other late seventeenth-century writers appear to describe $[\bar{a}]$ in these and similar words, but they and the eighteenth-century writers are very ambiguous. We must remember that $[x, \bar{x}]$ are sounds which only persons with some phonetic training can either recognize properly or describe. Almost all stages $[\check{a}, x, \bar{x}, \bar{a}]$ exist to-day in different Regional and Class Dialects. In spite of Zachrisson's disbelief in variant developments, I cannot escape the conviction that they are recorded by the early Grammarians in the above as in other classes of words, and I attribute them largely to Class Dialect.

NOTE I. Jespersen, Mod. E. G., i, pp. 304-310, rejects the ordinary view of the development of $[\bar{a}]$ in present-day English, and believes that it is of L. M.E. or Early Mod. origin, and has been retained unaltered. The difficulty of believing in the application of his complicated theory of 'preservative analogy' here appears very great.

NOTE 2. Present-day [hæb, hæst] instead of [hāb, hāst] are due to the analogy of [hæv], q. v., § 225, Note.

§ 220. The words father, rather fall under the above statement. They are developed out of the M.E. short forms făther, răther (cp. § 176, Note), the series being [făter < făter < făter < fāter < fāter]. Provincial [gāter] has had the same development.

§ 221. The present pronunciation of laugh [lāf] must go back to [laf] from *lauf, a (M.E.?) variant of lauh, with loss of u before f (cp. §§ 172. 1, and 260); to laffe occurs in a letter of Barnabe Googe, 1563, Arber's Reprint p. 12, this can apparently only represent M.E. läf. The present pronunciation of calf, half must go back to M.E. häf, *căf; the former actually occurs in the fourteenth century, in Azenbite, p. 190, and Bp. Bekinton's Letters, 1442, have behaf. These spellings show that l was lost, in some dialects, very early before f. In dialects where l in this position survived longer, the preceding a was diphthongized, hence the fifteenth-century spellings haulf, caulf, etc. This type would produce [hɔf, kɔf] as in some Mod. Engl. dialects, and has no relation to the forms of the standard language.

§ 222. The M.E. combination -ar.

M.E. år became [ær] and this was lengthened to [ær] in the first instance before another consonant—[hærd, pært], but still [ær, fær], etc. (Sweet, H. E. S., § 780). This is seventeenth

century, but before the end of the century the lengthening seems to have involved those words also in which no consonant followed the r. This $[\bar{x}]$ developed to $[\bar{a}]$ like that in § 219.

Such is the origin of our present-day $[\tilde{a}]$ in car, are, card, heart hard, etc., etc. In fact $[\tilde{a}]$ in present-day English always goes back to M.E. and Early Mod. \tilde{a} with subsequent fronting

and lengthening as described above.

Are [a] is not from the M.E. are(n) type, which produced the now obsolete [er, ear] that used to be written 'air' by comic writers, but from the M.E. variant are which occurred in unstressed positions. Cp. § 177. (2).

Present-day clerk, Berks., Bertie, Berkley, hearth, Derby [klāk, bāks, bāti, hāþ, bākli, dābi], in spite of the spelling, are derived from a M.E. clărk, Bărks(chire), Dărbi, Bărklei, etc.

Concerning the history of M.E. - Er, the type represented by the spelling in above forms, see § 228.

Note. The [ar] type of original er-words was very usual in eighteenth-century Received Standard. Lady Wentworth regularly writes sarve, sarvents, Jarmany, sartainly, hard 'heard', parson 'person', etc., etc. Cp. Wentw. Papers, passim. Vardy 'verdict, opinion', occurs in Swift's Polite Conversations.

§ 223. M.E. wă-, quă-.

These combinations appear in present-day English with a rounded vowel: wash, wan, swallow, swan, watch, wasp, quality, quantity, squash, etc. [wos, won, swolou, swon, wots, kwontiti, wosp, kwoliti, skwoll, etc. There is some slight evidence, even in M.E., for the rounding of a after w- when followed by 1: swolwe-bridde E. E. Pr. Psalter, 1350, p. 180; swol3 'swallow' the bird, Allit. Poems (Patience) 250; Chaucer rhymes swallow vb. with holowe H. of F. 1035. Zachrisson, p. 62, cites Wolsyngham, Paston Letters, whor 'war', and the inverted spelling what for wet vb. from Cely Papers, and also reword 'reward' from Paston Letters, in the sixteenth century. Machyn (1547-50) writes wosse 'wash', but the spellings with o are rare. In the latter half of the seventeenth century we find wore 'war' 1644, Worik 'Warwick' 1658, quorill 1674, quollity 1683, and a few more, in the Verney Mem. Grammarians make no mention of the rounded forms till Daines (1640), who says that au, = [5] is heard in quart, wart, and a few others, before -r; Cooper (1685) recognizes a rounded vowel in the words where we now have it. The poets, down to Dryden, appear never to rhyme wa- with anything but -a-, but Dryden has wallow-follow, war-abhor; Swift has quite

a number of such rhymes as morals—quarrels, short—quart, warning—morning, quarter—mortar, warm'd—perform'd, etc. The above evidence seems to show that although the rounding process was an early one in some dialects, the rounded forms were not established in polite speech, at Court, nor favoured

by the poets till far on in the seventeenth century.

There seems to have been two periods of this rounding in different speech communities, one before and one after the fronting of old \check{a} . Thus the above early spellings seem to show that L. M.E. wa became wo direct. On the other hand, some of the seventeenth-century Grammarians give forms like [wæz, swæn, kwæliti], which show that w did not hinder the fronting, and that [wa] did become [wæ]. In this case, the series must have been [swǎn, swæn] or [swǎn swɔn], respectively.

In the dialect of some classes, the rounding did not involve all words, for [kwæliti, kwæntiti] were well-used eighteenth-century forms, and have been heard in the last century by old people still living. Leigh Hunt, Autobiogr., p. 180, mentions that John Kemble the actor (1757–1823) always said [kwæ-

liti.

The form swam [swæm] instead of [swom] may be explained

from the analogy of ran, began, etc.

Before back consonants the rounding did not as a rule take place among standard speakers; cp. wag, quack, wax, etc. On the other hand, [kwzg] instead of [kwæg] in quagmire may be occasionally heard.

§ 224. When r follows, whether as a final sound or succeeded by another consonant, the rounded vowel just described is lengthened, and appears now as [5], thus war, warm, warp, warn, swarm, etc.=[w\(\bar{o}\), w\(\bar{o}\)m, w\(\bar{o}\)m, w\(\bar{o}\)m, sw\(\bar{o}\)m]. The history of $\(arraycolorgap{ar}{o}$, § 222 above, shows that this lengthening is due to the r itself, and not to the later loss of this sound.

The lengthening did not take place when the r was followed by a vowel—warrior, warren, quarrel=[worio, worin, kworol].

It may be noted that certain groups of young speakers at the present time show a tendency to drop intervocalic -r-, and in this case the preceding vowel does appear to be lengthened; either [wɔjə, kwɔəl], etc., or [wɔjə, kwɔəl]. On loss of r see § 284. (4).

M.E. ā.

§ 225. Independent Development.

 \bar{a} fronted to $[\bar{a}]$ which is raised to $[\bar{\epsilon}]$ and then made tense: $[\bar{\epsilon}]$.

As early as the thirteenth century MS. Egerton 613 has the spelling meden 'made', O.E. Misc. 198, 33. The doggerel Siege of Rouen, c. 1420, rhymes care—were vb., Bokenam, c. 1443, writes credyll M.E. cradel, 'cradle' S. Cecil. 80, and the inverted spelling bare for 'bier', O.E. bar, which in Suffolk would almost certainly have [e]; Cely Papers have ceme 'came', p. 46, and Zachrisson notes meke 'make', John Paston 1469, P. L. II., p. 392; the inverted spelling maid 'made', Cov. Leet Bk., p. 24, 1421, shows that M.E. a had by this time been levelled under M.E. ai, and the sound of this we have reason to believe was [e] or at least [e], see § 268. In 1528, declare rhymes with theare 'there', and with weare vb., and spare with wheare. French writers on English pronunciation from 1529 onwards indicate that English a has the sound of French e, or ai. The English Grammarians of the sixteenth century are, as usual, utterly ambiguous on the quality of \bar{a} , but throughout the century poets rhyme it with M.E. ē²; betake break, speake-make, Sackville; feature-nature, states-seates, Spenser; nature-defeature, Shakespeare. This evidence is enough to establish that a was fronted long before the period of the earliest English Grammarians, so that Gill (1621), who insists on the old back $[\bar{a}]$ as the proper pronunciation, and only admits the existence of a front pronunciation in order to censure it, cannot be taken seriously. Such a reliable observer as Cooper (1685) recognizes the complete identity of the vowel in meat and mate.

Examples are: ale, name, dame, cape, flake, gate, lane, behave,

make, take, etc., etc.

The words danger, grange, safe (§§ 171. (9), Note, 184, Note, 196), in so far as they go back to M.E. ā and not to ai, belong to this group.

The present-day diphthong [es] in [neim], etc., is first

recorded by Bachelor in 1809.

Note. The provincial [reider, feider] are from M.E. rader, fader. This type is probably indicated by Lady Wentworth's spelling rether (1708). Cf. Wentw. Papers, p. 64. Have [hæv], as distinct from [biheiv], goes back to M.E. hav with shortening, or absence of lengthening, in an unstressed position (§ 177), but the long have is also found in M.E., cp. Chaucer's rhyme with grave, etc., and the poets of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries recognize this type in their rhymes. Later than this, Pope, etc., rhymes have with save, crave, etc., which may well be mere traditional usage. For [hæst, hæp], see § 219, Note 2.

M.E. a+r.

§ 226. In the combination $\bar{a}r$, M.E. \bar{a} developed, according to § 225, to $[\bar{x}, \bar{\epsilon}]$ and remained at this stage. Then a parasitic

[ə] developed between the vowel and the -r, and the latter was lost, in Standard English, early in nineteenth century.

See § 284. (4) b and c below.

Thus M.E. hāre 'hare' had the following series of changes: $[h\bar{a}r < h\bar{\epsilon}r < h\bar{\epsilon}r < h\epsilon r < h\epsilon r$

Development of M.E. ĕ.

§ 227. Independent Treatment.

M.E. & remains as [e]: set, read (Pret. M.E. redde), men,

tell, well (adv.), kept, get, help, etc., etc.

The vowel in fledge, left (hand), knell is M.E. and O.E. ℓ from earlier y, according to the Essex or 'Kentish' type. See § 158 (b, e).

§ 228. Combinative Treatment. M.E. ĕr-.

In so far as this combination did not become $\check{a}r$ in M.E., it remained till the Early Mod. period, and was then apparently made into a flat vowel [ə]. With the weakening of the [r], this vowel was lengthened, and lowered, and made tense, becoming present-day $[\bar{\Lambda}]$. Examples: earth, earn, churl, heard (Late M.E. herde), fern, learn, servant, etc.

The vowel in kernel is the Essex or 'Kentish' form of O.E.

y, W.S., etc., cyrnel (§ 142).

Herd, in shepherd, herdsman, etc., is from the O.E. Merc. heorde, M.E. heorde, herde, W.S. hierde (§§ 117, 119, 139).

In sixteenth-century literary English the type yearth earth is much used, e.g. in Edw. VI's First Prayer Book. This is probably from the M.E. Kentish type yerpe as found in Azenbite (§ 169).

Clerk, Berks., etc., whose spelling shows that they represent M.E. er, are uset pronounced according to the M.E. ar-type

(§ 222).

For other sources of $[\bar{\Lambda}]$ see §§ 239, 252, 256.

NOTE. When a vowel follows -er- [E] remains: verity, etc.

M.E. ē1 (tense; see sources under § 201).

§ 229. Independent Development [ē<ī].

There are numerous spellings with y and i in M.E. (see § 162. (2)), and still more in the fifteenth century, and in the sixteenth, which leave no doubt that the present sound was fully developed in the pronunciation of the writers. All the Grammarians, even

those of the sixteenth century, agree also in describing the sound [I] in words which had ē in M.E. Examples: hyre 'hear' S. of Rouen (1420); besychen 'beseech' Bokenam, S. Marg. 925 (1443); myte 'meet' Shillingford, p. 6, dyme 'deem' ib., p. 13 (1447-50); symed 'seemed' Marg. Paston (1440-70), P.L. 2. 186, spyde 'speed' ib. 2. 188, shype 'sheep' ib. 2. 196; Anne Boleyn, Ellis, I. I. 306 and 307, besyche (1528); Ascham, style 'steel' Toxophilus 112 (1545); Q. Eliz. Letters to James VI (1582-1608), Kiping 'keeping', p. 23, nideful 'need-'27, besiche 53, spidye 53 'speedy', etc.; dides' deeds' Ellis I. 2. 147 (1549). The inverted spelling Mons. de Guees, 'Guise', Cavendish, Life of Wolsey, p. 76 (1577) is interesting.

It is quite possible, however, that in some dialects, the raising of [ē] to [ī] was well on its way, if not completed, in the M.E. period. See § 162. This [ī] has so far remained in Standard English. Examples of the various groups are: seek, sweet. feet, green; believe, steel, steeple; he, we, me; shield, wield, field; deed, seed; freeze, bee, deep, see; beetle, evil, weevil.

Norman-French words: beef, chief, grief, piece.

Note 1. Evil, O.E. (W.S.) yfel, was formerly explained as a 'Kentish' form, but as Luick has pointed out (Untersuchungen, p. 281), M.E. is lengthened from it in an open syllable was slack, whereas the tenseness of it in the ancestor of evil is proved by the sixteenth-century Grammarians, who record this word with [i]. The frequent early spelling ivel, yvel, may represent our type, or may be E.Midl. type without lengthening. The word must therefore be explained together with beetle and weevil, according to § 174.

NOTE 2. The fact that *deed* is recorded as containing [i] and is spelt with i already in the sixteenth century, as well as the present spelling of this word, and of *seed*, shows that these forms are derived from the non-W.S. $d\bar{e}d$, etc., which of course had $[\bar{e}]$ in M.E. Chaucer often uses the Anglian forms of these words in his rhymes, but has a preponderance of rhymes with undoubted M.E. $[\bar{e}]$ (§§ 162, 207).

§ 230. M.E. ē1 before -r.

Before -r a parasitic vowel developed after M.E. \bar{e} , Mod. $[\bar{i}]$: here, hear, dear, etc.= $[hi\bar{o}, di\bar{o}]$. The diphthong $[i\bar{o}]$ is heard at the present time, both when final r is lost as in the above words, and when it has been retained before a vowel as in $[hi\bar{o}ri\eta]$, etc.

NOTE. Hear from Anglian heran, § 124; fear from Anglian fer, § 124; and year from Anglian ger, § 123 (but cp. § 115, Note), are all normal in having [i]. For the [e] in there, were, hair, cp. § 233.

§ 231. Shortening of Mod. [i] from M.E. ē1.

Shortening, comparable to that of [\$\vec{\epsilon}\$] (\$\vec{235}\$), has taken place in breeches [britfiz], (hay)rick—though [rīk] survives in the

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dialects—riddle, O.E. (Anglian) rēdels; sick, silly, etc. This can hardly be the result of a direct shortening of $[\bar{e}]$ as is sometimes suggested, but must surely imply a previous raising to $[\bar{i}]$. See § 229.

M.E. ē2 (slack [ē], § 162. 1. and 2.

§ 232. Independent Treatment.

Examples of words containing M.E. [\$\overline{\epsilon}\$] are: beam, dream, beat, east, leap; clean, deal (vb. and n.), heat, heath, teach; breathe, eat, speak, steal; French words: beast, feast, veal.

This sound was kept quite distinct from M.E. [e] far into the Modern period. On the spelling ea, see § 212. All words of this group except those which have been shortened in the Modern period (such as dead, death, sweat, threat, thread, etc., etc.) on which see § 235 below, are now pronounced with [1] in Received Standard, except break, steak, great, and are therefore indistinguishable from those containing M.E. ē1 (§ 229) in respect of their vowel. In the fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth, and part of the eighteenth century, however, no less than in M.E., 2 was kept distinct from \bar{e}^1 . During this period, the difference is shown (a) by the retention, as an almost universal rule, of the spelling e for \bar{e}^2 , among those who constantly write i, y, for \bar{e}^1 ; (b) by the rhyming of e2 with M.E. a, as care—there, states—seates, speake -make, etc. (see § 225); (c) by occasional spellings with a, as retrate, Spenser, spake, Verney Memoirs; (d) by the definite statement of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Grammarians, e.g. Cooper, who equates meat and mate, besides describing quite unambiguously a mid-front vowel as the sound pronounced in a long list of typical 22 words.

It is open to discussion whether this E. Mod. vowel was tense or slack, [ē] or [ē]. It seems probable that when ē¹ became [ī], ē² very soon took its place and was made tense (see (2) below). After M.E. ā had been fronted it appears soon to have been completely levelled under the sound of ē² (§ 225), and the same is true of M.E. ai, ei (§ 268), and we therefore find ē² words rhyming with words originally containing both these other sounds, right down to the time of Pope. Examples of rhymes showing the identity of the three originally distinct vowels are:—Surrey, please—days; Sackville, breake—betake, speake—make; Spenser, uncleane—mayntayne; Drayton, dreams—Thames, mead—braid, maids—beads; Suckling, clean—Seine; Waller, sea—way, make—snake—speake; Cowley, play—sea; Dryden, dream—shame, obey—sea, seas—sways; Pope, weak—take, eat—gate, eat—state, speak—take, great—

state, shade—dead, etc.; Swift, perhaps owing to his Irish connexions, has a larger number of these rhymes than any other poet: meat—say't, yeast—haste, seat—weight, dreams—streams, dream—name, cheap—rape, veal—ale, etc., etc. The fact that such rhymes are not even more plentiful than they are, must be ascribed to the well-known tendency of poets to avoid rhymes which do not appeal to the eye as well as to the ear.

(2) The other type.

Although, down to the middle, at least, of the eighteenth century, the usually accepted pronunciation of \bar{e}^2 appears to have been $[\bar{e}]$, there is evidence of the early existence of another pronunciation, $[\bar{i}]$, and this in words which had $[\bar{e}]$ in all M.E. dialects, namely, those with O.E. \check{e} lengthened, as well as those with \bar{e} from O.E. \bar{x}^1 and \bar{x}^2 (§§ 162 (1, 2); 173) of which tense types existed in O.E. and M.E. by the side of the slack.

As early as Gregory (before 1467) M.E. helen 'conceal' is written hylen (p. 146); Machyn has prych 'preach', p. 13, bryking 109, brykefast 199, spyking 35; Ascham has lipe 'leap', Toxophilus 89; Gabr. Harvey, Letters (1573-80), birive 'bereave', p. 53; Q. Eliz. Transl. bequived 'bequeathed', p. 140. The Queen has also spich 'speech' (O.E. 21). Of the rhymes which indicate [1] some are open to question as being from O.E. \bar{x}^1 and \bar{x}^2 , which, though the slack type is the more usual in London English, and though these very words usually show the slack type, were also pronounced tense, even according to Chaucer's rhymes: Rede me and be not wrothe (1528) sleane bene; Surrey, reach-beseech, grene-clene, Tottel, p. 3; Skelton, stepe 'steep'-lepe 'leap', Ph. Sparow 111-15; Wyatt, beseech-reach; Spenser, seas-these, streame-seeme, uncleane -weene; Marston, sweetness-greatness; Drayton, beat-fleet, these-seas; Waller, sea-she-be; Milton, sea-thee, seasthese, seize-please; Cowley, sea-be, -he, -thee; Dryden, seefree, meet-seat, bread-feed; Swift, cheat-meat, seas-these, great-meet; Pope, seat-fleet, queens-means, sea-flea, etc. Gill (1621) mentions this type of pronunciation in leave and meat, which he transliterates liv, mit, respectively, as occurring in his day among certain classes of speakers whom he speaks of with derision and contempt. It appears from all this that the raising of the vowel to [1] in some areas or classes was very early, that some words were pronounced according to this type by the good speakers (e.g. Q. Eliz.) as early as the sixteenth century, and that the poets knew, and occasionally used this type. On the other hand it was not widely current,

and may have been regarded as a vulgarism, until the second half of the eighteenth century.

(3) Introduction of [i] type as usual form in Received Standard.

Our present pronunciation of the $\tilde{\epsilon}^2$ words is the result of the gradual abandonment of one type, and the adoption, universally, of another. The process involved one word after another, and went on slowly during the seventeenth, more quickly in the following century. Jones, the authority on pronunciation, writing in 1701, mentions steam, team, beam, yeast, as having the [I] sound. In 1747, Dr. Johnson, perplexed what pronunciation to recommend in certain cases, quotes, in his Plan of a Dictionary, Rowe's couplet:

'As if misfortune made the throne her seat, And none could be unhappy but the great'

as evidence for the pronunciation [grīt], which shows that Johnson himself took [sīt] for granted, but by no means proves that Rowe (1673-1718) pronounced in this way; in fact, the latter almost certainly still said [sēt].

Johnson further quotes Pope's

'For Swift and him despised the farce of state, The sober follies of the wise and great,'

as authority for the other type [grēt], which shows that in Johnson's day this word was pronounced by some as [grIt], otherwise it would not have been necessary to discuss it. Cowper, in the hymn 'God moves in a mysterious way', rhymes the last word with sea. The old pronunciation lingered on in some words, and perhaps especially in the provinces, for a long time. Charles Lloyd, the Birmingham Quaker banker (1748–1828), who translated Homer and Horace, rhymed steal with prevail, saying that whatever Londoners may do, 'we pronounce it stale', when Christopher Wordsworth took exception to the rhyme.

Note. Present-day [greit], M.E. grēte, may be due to a doublet in M.E. formed on the analogy of the Comp. grēttre, which survived in Caxton's English. If this survived after [grēt] had become [grēt], a form [grēt], whence later [grēt], might arise again with the vowel quality of the Comp., but the quantity of the Positive. See Jespersen, p. 338, who, however, explains the form rather differently by his principle of 'preservative analogy'. Steak and break may owe their vowel to a S.W. dialect type, and this explanation would of course account for great also. But all three may be chance survivals of the old type. [grīt, brīk] certainly existed, see above, but for some reason did not become current in Received Standard along with the other words of this class and type.

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M.E. [er].

8233. It appears that in Standard English the vowel in this group did not normally undergo raising to [I] as in the independent position, and in the group M.E. [ēr] (§ 230).

Examples are: bear vb., and the name of the animal, swear, wear, ere. There, where, were, hair must contain M.E. [\vec{\varepsilon}] from O.E. (Saxon) type \vec{\varepsilon}. Cp., on the other hand, fear, \vec{\varepsilon} 230. Note.

& 234. There is, however, another group of M.E. [8] words which have [i2] at the present day, and where the pronunciation [ir] is recorded in Early Mod.: ear, spear, rear (vb.), beard. shear, smear, tear (from the eye). Ear may possibly owe its vowel to association with hear, but the others must come from a dialect where the change of M.E. [er] to [ir] was normal, presumably by virtue of the same tendency which raised this sound to [i] as stated in preceding § 232. (2).

Great divergency exists among the seventeenth century Grammarians as to the pronunciation of these words, some giving [er], others [ir] in the same words. The same difference occurs in the rhymes of sixteenth and seventeenth century poets. Pronunciations, though differing from our own, which are suggested by the rhymes, and confirmed by the Grammarians, may be regarded as genuine. Practically all words with -ear-, -eer-, appear to have been pronounced according to both types. The fact is probably that there was one type of pronunciation which made M.E. e1r into [Ir] but kept M.E. e2r as [er]. When in the speech of this group, we find [ir] as in fear, rear, (O.E. $f\bar{x}r$, \bar{x}^{\dagger} , and $r\bar{x}ran$, \bar{x}^2), we must assume that [fiə, riə] descend from the tense types, and represent M.E. [er]. But in another Regional or Class Dialect M.E. [E] (from O.E. in open syllables or from O.E. ea) unless previously shortened, became [1] before -r as elsewhere, and to this we owe our present pronunciation of spear, ear, shear, tear (in the eye), as well as that represented in the rhymes bear (vb.)-hear, Wyatt; swear-appear, Suckling; appear-bear vb., dear-wear vb., Milton; here-bear, bears-peers, Waller, etc., etc. See Wyld, Studies in Engl. Rhymes, pp. 63-67.

NOTE. Beard = [biəd] presupposes earlier [berd], but another pronunciation [berd], which develops into [bard], is also recorded. Walker states that this persisted on the stage in late eighteenth century, and it may still be heard in Ireland.

§ 235. Shortening of M.E. [\(\bar{\epsilon}\)] in Modern Period.

A large number of words which appear still to have retained the old long vowel in M.E. are now pronounced with a short vowel: breath, dread, spread, wet, sweat, shed vb. bread, thread, threat, dead, death, head, deaf, red, fret, get, stead, heaven, heavy, tread vb. Many of these still retained their length in sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and even later, as appears from occasional spellings, rhymes, and Grammarians' statements. Spellings: -beheeddyd' beheaded'. Berners' Froissart, I. p. 24; threed, 'thread', Euphues, p. 157; havey 'heavy', Lady Hobart, Verney Mem. (1670). Rhymes which imply long vowels where we have short: Wvatt, eatenthreaten, freat, 'fret'-great, sweate vb.-heate, drede-spede -drede (speed has ē1); Spenser, breath-beneath-death, intreate-heate-sweate; Shakespeare, entreats-frets, heatget, sweat-heat, heaven-even, dread-mead, heavy-leafy (=[hevi-levi], cp. Lady Hobart's havey above): Drayton. wreath-breath; Habington, lead vb .- tread, dead; Milton, spreads—meads: Dryden, bread—feed (the latter from M.E. e1); Pope, dead—shade. Evidence of Grammarians: Wharton (1654) gives bread as having the long sound of which that in tread is the short; Cooper (1685) includes sweat vb. in the same list with seat ('long ea'); Baker (1725) says the vowels in deaf, breath, sweat, threat are all long.

On the other hand, in spite of the above, the shortening process is old, and many traces of this occur in the rhymes of the same poets who in other words retain the ancient quantity. Indeed the rhymes indicate a shortening in some cases where we have kept the un-shortened form: Wyatt, repeat-set; Sackville, depth-leapeth (=[lspb], ykept-reapt; Shakespeare, stepsleaps vb., confesse-decesse-(so in Quarto's 1-4) decrease; Drayton's east-possessed, beat(prep.) - set; Pope beat(P.P.)set. Shortened let is vouched for by Hodges and Price (1643, and 1668), who equate leaper and leper; it is still often used of a horse at the present time. The P.P. and Pret. bet indicated above is perhaps on analogy of met from meet. The occasional spellings also point to the existence of shortened forms: Marg. Paston, dedde 'dead', P. Letters ii. 372 (1469); Elyot's Gouernour (1531) hedde 'head', Berners' Froissart (1529), presst' priest'; Machyn (1547-50), mett' meat', swett' sweat', heddes; Cavendish (1577), strett 'street'. The whole question of these shortenings is obscure, and deserves special investigation. The long and short types have long existed

side by side.

M.E. ō1 (tense).—Independent Treatment.

§ 236. M.E. \bar{o}^1 (tense) becomes $[\bar{u}]$.

(1) The two M.E. \bar{o} -sounds, that from O.E. and O.Fr. \bar{o} (\bar{o}^1), and that from O.E. \bar{a} , or from lengthening of \check{o} (\bar{o}^2) are kept

distinct in rhyme in M.E.

(2) The process of change from M.E. δ^1 [\bar{o}] to [\bar{u}] was that of a gradual increase of rounding accompanied by raising of the tongue position. The stage reached in the early fourteenth century may well have been that of the present Swed. δ in

bo, etc.

The process must have begun pretty early, since there are numerous occasional spellings with ou in M.E., by the side of the orthodox o, or oo; see § 163. During the fifteenth century ou and u spellings for M.E. o¹ are common, and are found in S. Editha (1420), Palladius (1420), Bokenam (1443), Pecok (1449), Cely Papers, and Paston Letters, to mention no more. It is impossible to say exactly when the absolute [ū] stage was reached, but this much may be said at once, that the new [ū] must not only have been fully developed, but, in some words, was also shortened to [ŭ] in time to undergo the un-rounding process which overtook original short z, and produced the vowel now heard in cut, run, bud, etc. (See on this un-rounding, § 250).

The ou and u spellings occur constantly throughout the sixteenth century, not only in private letters, etc., but also in printed books, floud and bloud being used, for instance, in the First and Second Prayer Books of Edward VI, it buted not in Ascham's Toxophilus, houke in Q. Elizabeth's letters, and so on. The earliest Grammarians admit [u] in words of the class

we are considering.

(3) Of the words containing M.E. \bar{o}^1 , we now distinguish three groups:—

(a) those pronounced with Late M.E. [ū] unchanged—moon, spoon, rood, soon, brood, tooth, stool, food, goose, hoof;

(b) those pronounced with an entirely different vowel, [a]—blood, flood, glove, must, done, month, Monday, mother, brother;

(c) those pronounced with short, slack [u]—good, hood, stood, foot, soot, shook, cook, rook, look, took.

Of these groups (b) is the most interesting. From the moment that the new $[\bar{u}]$ was shortened, it was completely levelled under the other short \bar{u} -sound, of various origin, already in existence, and shared its fate. The reasons for the

shortening are not, apparently, to be found in the phonetic conditions existing in the words themselves, since other words preserve the long type although the same consonants follow the vowel as in group (b). The explanation must most probably be sought, as in so many cases in Received Standard. in an old diversity of dialect, Class or Regional.

Group (c) is the result of a comparatively recent shortening which apparently always affects the vowel before -k, though it is impossible to say why it should take place in good but not in food, in foot, but not in root, or boot ' profit, bargain'. Here

again dialect variety must probably be assumed.

There is plenty of evidence of short forms of many of the words in each of the three groups, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but they probably represent the early shortening (b) in all cases. Lord Berners has fludde (three times at least in Froissart, vol. I); Edward VI's First P. B. has fluddes and bludd; Gabr. Harvey, Letters, has blud, futt, and whudd 'hood', rhyming with budd in the Letter Bk.; Sackville rhymes done with run; Gill (1621) gives blood, glove, good, brother, done, does vb., mother, other, as short; Butler (1634) gud, blud; Sir Edm. Verney (1639) writes bludd, bluddynose, Papers, 212; the Verney's bailiff (1653) writes tuck 'took'; Sir R. Verney (1686) writes sutt 'soot', V. Mem. iv. 358; Cooper's list of words includes flood, hood, other, soot, stood, as having the sound of 'oo shortened', which should mean [u], but gives fut as a 'barbarous form'. Does this imply [a]? He appears to recognize [u, ū] as well as [a] in foot, for sooth, good, hood, look, -sook, took. Jones (1701) gives a list of these words with [ii] which corresponds to our present usage except as regards for sooth, now [sub].

It is open to question whether all these, except Cooper's and Jones's lists, do not imply [a], though in the latter two we have

apparently our present type with the late shortening.

§ 237. Distribution of the Types from M.E. ō1.

This is pretty definitely fixed in present-day Received Standard, but there was great diversity in this respect formerly among good speakers. Soot was pronounced [sat] among good speakers within living memory, though regarded as oldfashioned for the last fifty years or so. (Cp. Sir R. Verney's spelling, and Cooper's view of this type in preceding § 236.) There was considerable diversity among good speakers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and much difference between them and ourselves, in the distribution of types. In the fifteenth century there was probably at first only one type,

 $[\bar{u}]$; later two types $[\bar{u}, \bar{u}]$; still later the latter became [a], and these two $[\bar{u}, a]$ remained the only types till towards the end of the seventeenth century, when, apparently, the third, $[\bar{u}]$ developed, by a later shortening of $[\bar{u}]$. It is highly probable that every word was by some group of speakers pronounced according to any of the existing types. Thus Salesbury (1547) and Smith (1568) represent the vowel in good as being either long or short, Gill (1621) as being short; Salesbury describes flood with a long, Bullokar (1580) and Gill, with a short; good according to Price (1668) had [a] as in cut; according to Jones (1701) it had both this and $[\check{u}]$; foot for Price had a long vowel, for Cooper either short [u] which was the best pronunciation, and [a] which was 'barbarous'; Price affirms that soot had $[\bar{u}]$, Cooper and Jones that it had $[\check{u}]$, and also a pronunciation [a] which was not so good.

The early poets, as at present, rhyme all words with M.E. $\bar{\sigma}^1$ indiscriminately, which most likely reflects the fact that all might be, and were, pronounced according to either type. The modern practice in this respect is based on old tradition.

Examples from the older poets which appear to indicate the use of a different type from that current to-day are:—Spenser, buds—woods; Drayton, woo'd—stood, took—luck; Suckling, look—struck; Dryden, flood—mood—good, etc.

Note 1. If we accept Luick's interpretation of M.E. wode 'wood', above, love, § 174, we must assume Late M.E. [wūd, abūv, lūv], and they will fall under § 236, group (2) with hood, etc., or under (3) with blood.

NOTE 2. M.E. göld, with lengthening before ld (§ 114), normally became [güld], and this was the fashionable Received Standard form well into the nineteenth century. By the side of M.E. göld, however, göld also existed, due probably to the analogy of the adj. göldene, göldne (§§ 175. (7), 176), and this later became [göld] long after the old long form had become [güld]. (See § 242 for öl+cons.) This late form has completely ousted the old [güld], which survives, however, in the family name Gould by the side of Gold.

NOTE 3. Our present pronunciation of Rome [roum] is not the traditional English type, but derived either from French or Italian. Hodges, Cooper, Jones all assert that the word was pronounced with 'oo' long, i.e. [u]. Shakespeare rhymes the word with doom, groom; Donne with roome and come [kum]; Pope with doom; Swift with gloom. Cowley and Dryden have already adopted the newfangled form, and rhyme it with home.

§ 238. Combinative Treatment of M.E. $\bar{0}^1 + r$.

In M.E. flor, swor, mor, pore, hore, 'floor', 'swore', 'moor', 'poor', 'whore'; in M.E. dore' door' (§ 174); in bord' board' hord (§ 114), etc., o was not raised to [ū], but seems to have become [5] in part of Early Standard. Some early writers

however, have [mūr, pūr, būrd], etc. At the present time both types survive among different speakers, in some words. Thus [puə, pɔ, muə, mɔ]. As a rule, in Received Standard, apart from poor, moor, boor, only [ɔ] obtains in words containing M.E. or. In the dialects, however, we may hear [būərd, flūər, būər], etc.

Luick, Anglia, xvi, p. 461, assumes the series [or, ur, or, 5r]. There is no reason, however, why [o(o)] should not have come straight from [uo]. Dr. Watts rhymes door with to her, = [duo]; note also the fluctuation in the present day between [pjuo-pjo, suo-sol, and we even get [fjo, bro] for fewer, brewer.

Mutschmann, Beibl. z. Anglia, June, 1908, suggests the influence of the preceding lip-consonants to account for [pua.

muə, buə, muən].

§ 239. Word, worthy, which now have $[\bar{a}]$, may have had δ^1 in M.E. In this case, they had $[\bar{u}]$ in Early Mod., a view supported by such spellings as woord, woorthie in Edw. VI First P. B. The development from Early Mod. would be $[\bar{w}urd, \bar{w}urd, \bar{w}ard, \bar{w}ard, \bar{w}ard]$, etc.

M.E. 52 (slack).

§ 240. Independent Development.

M.E. \bar{o}^2 , whatever its origin (§ 201, p. 135), was probably a long mid-back-slack-round $[\bar{o}]$. This sound seems to have remained until well into the sixteenth century and then to have been made tense $[\bar{o}]$. The latter sound was, much later, diphthongized to the present [ou].

Examples: stone, bone, loaf, only, al-one, etc.; hope, throat;

coat, rose, pole.

NOTE I. Broak [br5d] instead of [broud], and groat, now [grout] from the spelling, but formerly [gr5t, gr5t], have been explained as derived from a dialectal type in the S.-West of England, where this development is normal. Sweet's explanation (H. E. S., § 841) that the lowering is due to the influence of a can hardly hold good in the face of grove, grope; see Horn, Hist. no. Gr., p. 84.

NOTE 2. Present-day one [wan] shows a different vowel development from on-ly, al-one, which have a normal sound from O.E. ān, M.E. ōn. [wan] seems to presuppose an earlier [wun], like [wats] 'oats', earlier [wuts], now dialectal or vulgar. So many widely separated dialects now have [úɔts, wats; úɔn, wan] that it is difficult to decide from which area this type passed into Standard English. The spelling wonlyche occurs as early as 1421 (St. Editha, 3529). A fair number of examples of this spelling are found in the sixteenth century: Such a wone (Latimer's Sermons, 1549); the spelling won(e) is also found in letters of Henry VIII, Queen Elizabeth's Translations, Machyn's Diary, Latimer's Sermons, in letters in the Verney Memoirs, and the Wentworth Papers. But the

older type [on] long survived. Hodges gives owne and one as 'near alike', Price as identical in sound; Wallis says that one and none have 'o rotundum', which is the sound attributed to the o in pole, boat, oat, etc.; Cooper couples own and one as pronounced alike, and includes wuts 'oats' in his list of dialect forms; the Writing Scholar's Companion (1695) actually represents 'wun' as being a vulgar pronunciation! The poets rhyme according to the old type:—Sackville, one—stone; Brake-speare, one—gone [gon], also with bone; Cowley, grown—one; Dryden, one—thrown; Pope, one—undone which shows our present type. It seems evident from the spelling that in Early Standard one had the same vowel as on-ly, al-one, etc., and that the other type gradually got a footing later from a lower Class Dialect. It is suggested by some that old [on] survives in 'un—a good 'un, a wrong 'un, etc.; but this may equally well represent [wan] with loss of initial [w] in an unstressed syllable.

The process was [ōən-, ōn-, ōən-, ūən, uən, wan] or something of the sort. Whome 'home' is used by Tyndale (1528), and whoale 'whole', wholy for holy, forms similar to wone, occur, the latter several times, in Rede me and be not wrothe (1528); wholy in Sir T. More, by side of holy and hole.

NOTE 3. A similar tendency to develop [w] may be noted before old tense $\bar{\rho}$ which had become [\bar{u}]. The spelling wother 'other' occurs on p. 117 of the Shilling ford Letters (1447-50, Camden Soc., 1871).

Combinative Treatment of M.E. 52.

§ 241. M.E. ō2+r.

Before r M.E. slack \bar{o} seems to have become tense, as elsewhere, and then lowered to $[\bar{o}]$: roar, boar, born, forlorn, glory, hoarse, sore, etc. All these from earlier $[r\bar{o}r, b\bar{o}r, gl\bar{o}r]$, etc. The tense $[\bar{o}]$ or sometimes $[\bar{o}\bar{o}, ou\bar{o}]$ still survives in the Northern and North Midland Dialects, and is heard also in the various forms of Vulgar Modified Standard in Liverpool.

§ 242. M.E. ö²+1.

It seems certain from the statements of the Grammarians, and from occasional spellings, some of which survived pretty late, that in the above combination a parasitic [u] developed, at least as early as the late fifteenth century—owld, could, etc., 'old, cold,' etc. This diphthong was subsequently contracted to [o] and had the same history as independent ook 240.

§ 243. Shortening of M.E. \bar{o}^2 .

Our present hot, M.E. $h\bar{o}(a)te$, O.E. $h\bar{a}t$, is a result of this. Spellings indicating shortened forms occur from fifteenth century: hottest, Palladius 64, 275; whott 'hot' Lord Burghley, Ellis 2, 3, 99, (1582); hotte Euphues 41; by the side of hoate Latimer, Sermons 293, etc. Other shortenings of this vowel are indicated in Lord Berners, Froissart: loffe 'loaf' 1, 52, bottes 'boats', rodde 'rode' 1 350. This is presumably

part of the same process as that involving the shortening of M.E. \bar{e}^1 and \bar{e}^2 , §§ 231, 235, and of $[\bar{u}]$ from \bar{o}^1 , § 236.

M.E. ŏ.

§ 244. Independent Treatment.

(1) M.E. & remains unaltered, so far as we can tell, far into the Modern Period. It was probably mid-back-slack-round [8]. It cannot be determined precisely when it was lowered to its present sound [2]. Examples: cot, rot, ox, long, etc., etc.

(2) Un-rounding of ŏ.

Very few traces of this now remain in Received Standard, but the un-rounded forms once existed in fashionable speech. The doublets chap-chop, strap-strop, Gad, egad-God; plat (of ground, Authorized Version, and Milton) for plot are nearly all the survivors. The un-rounding of ŏ is typical of many Regional Dialects of the West of England to-day, and this pronunciation is very prevalent in many districts of U.S.A. Early examples are starme 'storm', rhymes harm, St. Editha 932 (1420); aftetymes, 'oft', Shillingford 53(1447-50); last 'lost' Pret. Subjunct. Marg. Paston (1469) P. Letters 2, 373. During the sixteenth century a few forms of this type penetrate into London English; apart from Lord Berners yander 'yonder', Froissart 1, 205, Machyn (1547-50) has hars 'horses' 12, marrow 'morrow' 47, Dasset 'Dorset' 48, 57, caffen 'coffin' 120; Q. Eliz. stap 'stop' Letters 64. Lady Hungerford (c. 1569) has swarn 'sworn' Letters 256, but this may be regarded as a frank Westernism. A fair sprinkling of these forms occur in the Verney Letters, sassages II. 318 (1648); faly 'folly' (1647) II. 380, etc.; Mrs. Basire writes Gearge (1655) Corresp. 139. The type was apparently adopted on a large scale by fops, cp. Lord Foppington in Vanbrugh's Relapse who is made to substitute a in every word where o normally occurs: amongst other forms he agrees with Q. Elizabeth in saying stap for stop. In the early eighteenth century Lady Wentworth has beyand, Anslow (Onslow). The un-rounded forms are not much represented in the rhymes, but plot-that, Spenser; Shakespeare's dally-folly (cp. faly above) in R. of Lucr., and Swift's yondersalamander are of interest. This process of un-rounding must have been earlier than the rounding of M.E. a after w.

§ 245. Lengthening of ŏ.

Before [s, f, b] M.E. & appears in Present-day English, though not among all speakers, as [5] as in cost, soft, froth, etc.

This is due probably to a late lengthening. Cp. the parallel lengthening of [æ], § 219.

M.E. ū.

§ 246. Independent Treatment: \bar{u} becomes [au].

The statements of sixteenth century Grammarians that this sound, in their day, was a diphthong, composed of o and u, do not in themselves inspire much confidence, since from what we know of these writers, this is just the way we should expect them to describe a sound which was normally spelt ou. At the same time it is most probable that [ou] was a stage in the development from [u] to [au]. Cooper (1685) analyses the diphthong as consisting of [au], which again is one of the later stages, shortly before the present sound was reached. Zachrisson cites the fifteenth century spellings abaught 'about', faunde 'found', withaught, all from Paston Letters; aur from Cely Papers 20, and sauth 'south' from Godstow Register. It may perhaps be considered an open question whether these really are phonetic spellings at all. Why should au occur to the writers as a natural way of expressing a diphthong, at a time when this combination of letters was coming to be regarded as a way of representing [5]? 1 It will not do to build too much on these spellings. The essential thing is that the old & had certainly been differentiated from the old sound before the new [ū] had fully developed, and this latter process was probably complete round about 1400 at latest (§ 236). The series of changes from the old long vowel to the diphthong was probably [ū<ūu<ou<au<au], but our present knowledge does not allow us to fix with any confidence the approximate chronology of the various stages.

Examples are: how, house, mouse, bow (vb.), mouth, foul, ground, plough; crown, power, flower, count, etc. Drought

(draut) is from M.E. druht < dru(h)t.

NOTE 1. In country, plum, rough, southern, thumb, 4 was shortened to \$\vec{u}\$ before the diphthongization began, and the vowel shares the history of other M.E. \$\vec{u}\$-words (\sqrt{u}\sqrt{2}36. (3); 250).

NOTE 2. Youth [jūb] may be a Northern loan (2 remains in the North), or it might owe its vowel to association with a short M.E. young (jūŋg], giving an early [jūb], which later underwent lengthening. Cp. similar lengthenings in §§ 219, 245. It is possible there may have been an O.E. mutated *ġŷġb, since [jyb] seems to have existed in Early Mod.

As a result of careful scrutiny of passages in fifteenth-century MSS. in which au or eu for M.E. u were supposed to occur, Zachrisson now finds only two absolutely certain instances—aur' our' (1480) in Cely Pprs., and hew 'how' (1484) also in Cely P. See Engl. Pronunciation at Shake-speare's Time, pp. 134-5. Z. interprets hew as [hou], aur as [aur].

(Luick, Anglia, xiv, p. 291, cit. Horn, p. 92). Uncouth [ankup] must be a Northern form.

NOTE 3. Modern [kjūkambə] is a spelling pronunciation for cu-from earlier [kū-], which gives normally [kaukambə], now obsolete or vulgar.

Combinative Treatment.

§ 247. M.E. ū before r + consonant is not diphthongized.

Examples: court, source, course, etc. [ū] is still recorded in these words in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the eighteenth century the vowel was lowered to [o], whence by further lowering we get the present [o] in these words. (Luick, Anglia, xvi, pp. 455-61; cp. also remarks in § 241 above on the slackening of [o] in eighteenth century.)

§ 248. ME. ū before lip-consonants, not diphthongized. In this position the sound of M.E. ū remained unaltered. (See Luick, Anglia, xvi, p. 501.)

Examples: droop, loop, stoop, room, tomb, Cowper [kupa], etc.

§ 249. M.E. wū- remains.

The vowel in wound (subst.), to wound, M.E. wūnd, wūnd(en), has been preserved owing to the influence of w. The pronunciation [waund], which formerly existed, is probably influenced by the spelling. The pret. of to wind is still [waund], and this may be explained by the analogy of found, which belongs to the same class.

M.E. and Early Modern ü.

§ 250. Independent Treatment: ŭ becomes [a].

The earliest English Grammarians, hide-bound as they are by the spelling, leave it doubtful whether they are aware of any other sound than [ŭ] in words buck, cut, but, etc. Most of them down to the middle of the seventeenth century are evidently describing the old [ŭ] pure and simple. Hodges, in 1644, is the first English writer to recognize the existence of the new sound, and most old short ž-words have this sound in his pronunciation (Zachrisson, p. 211). Wallis however (1653) definitely refers to the 'obscure' sound of ž, and Cooper (1685) very explicitly distinguishes 'guttural ž', in nut, which he describes as pronounced in the throat with the lips retracted; and further states that if while o is being uttered, the lips are drawn back, this guttural z results. The sound, he says, resembles that which a man makes when groaning from sickness or pain. We can hardly doubt that the sound [a] is

meant. On the other hand, the Frenchman Bellot as early as 1580, while stating that Buck and Book are both pronounced with French ou $(= [\tilde{u}])$, says that the sound of French o is heard in the first syllable of upon (Spira, Englische Lautentwickelung, p. 52). Mason (a French merchant), 1622, says that French o is heard in upon and hungrie (Spira, p. 67). A work called Alphabet anglois, 1625, describes o as occurring in up, butter, sunder, curse, etc. This identification of the sound of English u with French o is significant when we remember such Modern French spellings and pronunciations as that of tob, English tub. The occasional spellings, however. point to the un-rounding being considerably older: 1 Marg. Paston gannes 'guns' (twice) P.L. ii. 372 (1469); Fortescue, Governance of England, 126, sadanly (1471-6); Cely Papers camyth 146, and perhaps warsse, wars = wurse (?) 146; Machyn (1547-50), Samerset 182, Chamley 38 (= Chumley, pronounced as now [tfámli]) Cholmondely. These spellings would scarcely be possible for speakers who still pronounced [u]. What degree of un-rounding they express, and whether this was complete, is another question. It is enough that they show that the process had started. Its effects may not have been equally strong in all dialects, and the London dialect may have been slightly behind Norfolk and Essex in this respect. The statements of the Frenchmen just quoted need certainly not be taken literally, and they would be consistent with a fully un-rounded [a], but for the present, and pending fresh light, it is better to be cautious and conservative. The presentday Lancashire vowel in bush, bull, etc., which is mid-back-tense, slightly rounded, might easily sound as a kind of [o] to unaccustomed ears, and this may well represent approximately the stage reached by the last quarter of the stateenth century, and lasting beyond the first quarter of the century following.

This unrounding process involved all the words containing [ŭ] no matter what the origin, the main groups being: (a) O.E. and M.E. ŭ as in run, cut, bud, honey, nut, rust, son, summer, won, wonder, etc., etc., [ran, kat, bad, hani, nat], etc.; (b) O.E. and M.E. ō, Early Mod. [ū] with early shortening, as in blood, flood, etc. [blad, flad], cp. § 236. 3; (c) words with Early Mod. u from earlier [y], as in cudgel, drudge, rush, etc. [kadžəl,

¹ Zachrisson has now shown that of the fifteenth-century forms here cited as containing a, those from M. Past have certainly o in the MS., and that camyth fr. Cely P. probably has o, though the letter much resembles a; Fortescue's form should perhaps not be accepted as having a without further examination of the MS. Machyn's forms have undoubted a. See Engl. Pron. in Shakespeare's Time, pp. 125-30.

dradž, rass; (d) Early ü from M.E ü in French words, as judge, just, etc. (See § 253, M.E. ü, for the sound in this group of words.)

Combinative Treatment of M.E. t.

§ 251. Influence of Initial Lip-consonant: [u] restored.

The sound in put, bull, bush, full, pull, wolf, wool, which goes back to earlier \(\vec{u}\), was apparently unrounded to start with, but later, the influence of the initial lip-consonant restored [\vec{u}]. It looks as if this tendency existed only among certain classes of speakers, and as if the above were survivals of their dialect, while on the other hand in mud, bud, but, fun, etc., we have forms from another type of speech, in which the later rounding did not take place.

NOTE. Modern come [kam] apparently represents M.E. cumen (often written comen) and not M.E. comen with lengthening of \tilde{u} (§ 174), to judge by such spellings in E.Mod. as cummeth, etc., Edw. VI's First P.B.

§ 252. M.E. ŭ before r or r + consonant: becomes [a], which becomes $[\bar{A}]$.

The vowel in burn, cur, murder, purse, worm became [a], giving [barn, kar, marder, pars, warm], etc., as in Modern Scotch; as the [r] sound weakened the vowel was lengthened, and ultimately made into a flat vowel, fully lengthened, giving present-day [a]. For other sources of this sound see §§ 228, 239, 256.

NOTE. When a vowel follows the combination -ur-, this becomes [a], and the [r] being retained, no lengthening or other change of the vowel occurs: flourish, nourish, Surrey, etc. = [flari], nari[flari], sari[flari], etc.

$^{\circ}$ M.E. $\ddot{\mathbf{u}} = \mathbf{O.E.}\ \ddot{\mathbf{y}}$; O.Fr. \mathbf{u} .

§ 253. (See § 158 for O.E. y in M.E.)

The [**) sound, whether of English or French origin, was simply retracted to the corresponding high-back vowel [**u] (in Late M.E. ?), and this sound underwent the subsequent lowering and unrounding which overtook the other [**u] sounds no matter what their origin, and developed into present-day [a]. See § 250.

Examples: (a) English words: bundle, blush, thrush, much, such, drudge, clutch, cudgel, rush (the plant); (b) French words: just, judge, humble, study, public. The distribution of the three types in English words was rather different in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries from that of Received Standard

dard at the present time.

NOTE I. Busy, now [bizi] (§ 158 (a, e)), and Bury [beri] (vb. and n.) represent the M.E. \(\vec{u}\)-type in spelling, but the former shows the unrounded M.E. type, the latter the Essex-London City type, in pronunciation. The survival in pronunciation of the old [y]-type in bury is recorded in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The spelling buiryed (1710, Wentw. Papers, p. 122) almost certainly implies [bj\vec{u}rjed]. (See also E. St. 47, pp. 165-6.) Earlier non-dialectal writers have the u-type in several words beside those where we have it: furst 'first', in Lydgate; Cr. Knt. of Bath 389; Machyn; Sir Thomas Smith, etc., etc.; burthe 'birth', Caxton; thursteth, Hoccleve; thurst, thursty, Sir Thos. Elyot; sturre 'stir', Bp. Fisher; sturred, sturrs, Latimer; Q. Eliz.

NOTE 2. In a large number of words of English origin, O.E. I occurs in Standard Engl. with the M.E. (Middlesex) i-type—hill, wish, sin, fill, thin, etc., and these words therefore fall under M.E. i (§ 255). i-forms occur in fifteenth and sixteenth century writers where we now have other types:—lyfte, lift 'left hand', Gregory; Cr. Knt. of Bath; syche, etc. 'such', Gregory; Bk. of Quintessence; John Mason (1533); Sir Thos. Smith (suich); schytte, shitte 'shut', Pret., Gregory; Caxton; Ld. Berners; biriede 'buried', Bk. of Quint.

Note 3. In a certain number of words, the O. and M.E. S. Eastern (or London City) e-type survives in Standard Engl., e.g. fledge, kernel, merry, knell, left (hand), etc. These, therefore, fall under M.E. e (§§ 227, 228). This type was formerly much used in earlier London speech, and that among persons of the better class: sterr-vb. 'stir', Lydgate; Gregory; Bk. of Quint.; Ld. Berners; Sir Edw. Howard (1513); Sir Thos. Elyot; Latimer; Cavendish; shette 'shut' Pret., R. Sustr. Men.; Caxton; Cavendish; knet(ed), etc. 'knit', Caxton; Rede me; kechen, ketchyn, etc.' kitchen', Sir Thos. Elyot; Machyn; weshing 'wishing', Q. Eliz. (O.E. wystan).

NOTE 4. Church, O.E. cyrce, circe, is found in M.E. spelt with u, i, e. Its origin is, however, doubtful. The initial ch-cannot easily be accounted for if we assume original y (from u-i, \S 109); the e and u-spellings are difficult, if we assume that the vowel was originally i.

§ 254. M.E. I becomes [ai].

Under this sound we may include original O.E. \bar{i} in write, etc., French \bar{i} , and the \bar{i} which developed before $[\dot{\chi}]$ in light, etc., probably in the late M.E. period in some dialects. $[\chi]$ seems to have lingered on into the seventeenth century among some speakers (§ 284. (7)). The preceding vowel may have been lengthened just before the total disappearance of the front consonant.

The diphthongizing process probably began by a slackening of the latter part of \bar{i} , thus $[\bar{i} < i^i]$. The first portion was then further differentiated to [e]. This mid-front vowel was then made into a flat vowel, and then retracted to [a], giving [ai]. When once the diphthongization starts, by the differentiation of the first and latter part of $[\bar{i}]$ it is possible to suggest various paths of development, none of which can be proved beyond

a doubt to be the one followed. The above series, however. seems to square with what is known. From [ai] the development to the present [ai] is simple and is merely a question of

slackening.

There is little doubt that the [ei] stage was reached pretty early in the fifteenth century if the fairly frequent spelling ey in St. Editha (1421) means anything: bleynd, myeld, feyr, 'blind, mild, fire', etc. The beginnings may have been in the preceding century (Dibelius, Anglia, xxiii, pp. 349, 352). The question as to what the precise stages were, and when they were reached, is very difficult. See on these points Zachrisson, pp. 73-6. The development was not uniform all over the country. Some of the sixteenth-century English Grammarians still insist on a pronunciation [], but this is no doubt due to the domination of the spelling (Zachrisson, p. 205). It seems probable that the [ai] stage was reached before the end of the fifteenth century, as is shown by the inverted spellings defoyled 'defiled', Mnk. of Evesham (1482); and those cit. Jespersen Mod.E. Gr. 320, joyst (1494) for jiste and boyle (on the body) for bile (1529); cp. also defoylyng, Rede me, etc. (1529). At this point old [i] is levelled under oi. The rhyme tryall disloyal occurs in Marston's Insatiate Countess, iv (1613). Cp. also the spelling voiolence, Wentw. Papers, p. 280 (1712). (See § 270 for the history of oi.) Many dialects still remain approximately at this stage, the best known being Irish English, whose sound is usually, but inaccurately, rendered oi by popular writers of to-day.

Examples of present-day [ai] from earlier [1] are: life, ride, my, I, bite, blind, etc., knight, night, light, etc. Eye, high, nigh of course go back to M.E. i-forms, for which see § 172. (2).

NOTE 1. Oblige was pronounced [oblidž] in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a fashionable habit due to French influence. The spellings obleged, obleginge, obleg, disablegin are frequent in the Verney Memoirs between 1647 and 1666, and a search would probably reveal this before and after these dates. Pope, as is well known, rhymes obliged with besieged (Epist. to Arbuthnot, 207-8) and oblige ye with besiege ye (Imitations of Horace, Bk. I, Epist. vii, 29-30). It has been said that this pronunciation was killed by Lord Chesterfield in a letter written in 1749 in which he is supposed to refer to it as a pronunciation of 'the vulgar man', which 'carries the mark of the beast along with it'. Any one reading the passage will see that on the contrary [oblīdz] is the pronunciation insisted upon as proper, and that it is [oblazdz] which is referred to as vulgar. Coleridge (Table Talk, Dec. 29, 1822) repeats a story told by George IV to Charles Mathews about Kemble the actor, who, a great precisian in speech, actually corrected the King, then Prince of Wales, for saying 'oblegge', with the reproof 'it would become your royal mouth better to say oblige'. George IV may have retained the fashionable pronunciation of a former day which had been abandoned by actors, but it is

recorded that Wilkie Collins (1824-89) still retained the old type (Bookman, May 1907, op. cit., Jespersen, Mod. Engl. Gr. 8. 3).

NOTE 2. [i] is preserved in words of late French origin, machine, invalid, etc. In unstressed positions [i] or [i] is normal, the shortening being far earlier than the diphthongization, e.g. housewife = [hazif], Berkshire = [bākfi], the artificial [-fai] in the names of counties being due to the spelling or the influence of the stressed shire. Walker (1801) recommends [mi] in unstressed positions, but the strong [mai] is largely used now in such phrases as [aiv l5st mai wei], etc. The otherwise obsolete [min] may sometimes be heard on the stage—I have heard Sir Frank Benson say [ou mi profetik soul, mi naŋkl].

Note 3. The words high, nigh, eye, etc., represent the M.E. I-type, from O.E. $-\overline{eah}$, $-\overline{eag}$, see § 172. The other M.E. type -ei- also survived in some of these words as late as the eighteenth century. Price (1668) gives high and hay as having the same sound; Cooper (1688) says the same sound is heard in height and convey; Baker (1725) says that height is pronounced both as 'hate' and 'hite'. Waller rhymes this word with strait, Dryden with fate. We preserve this type in neighbour, contrasted with nigh.

M.E. ĭ.

§ 255. Independent Treatment.

This sound remains unchanged, so far as can be discovered, except that the ordinary sound in Received Standard is not a pure high front, but a high flat, slack [T]: bid, spring, sit, ship, dish, etc., etc.

Ridge, bridge, thin, hill, midge, fist, etc., are from the M.E. i-type from O.E. y (§ 158 (a) and (e), 253 (Note 2)). This form is typical of the Middles. dialect from the fourteenth century at least.

An apparent lowering of i to e $[\epsilon]$ is so common among all classes from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries that it must be noted. Only a few of the dozens of examples which occur can be given; the following do not include spellings from persons who show definite traces of Regional influence; Fortescue, contenually, lemited, deficult; Caxton, shellyngs: Ld. Berners, mengled; Sir Thos. Seymour, fessher men, Premrose, begennyng; Latimer, sence 'since'; Ascham, splettyd; Q. Eliz., bellowes 'billows', rechis 'riches'; Machyn, deleverd, chelderyn, essue, red 'rid' Pret. of ride, denner, ennes of the court; various writers in Verney Mem., fefty, strept' stripped', cheldren, sence, stell 'still', untel, shelings, pell 'pill', bet 'bit', consedowring, speriets; Mrs. Basire, sens 'since', Prence, cheldren; Lady Wentworth, tel 'till', senc, spetting, etc., etc. That these spellings represent a current pronunciation is, apart from their recurrence through the centuries, confirmed by the poets' rhymes: sperit-merit, Spenser, Drayton, Waller, Swift, Popo; prince—sense, thence, pretence, etc., Dryden; wit—coquet, gift—theft, Lady Mary Montague.

NOTE I. Chill, O.E. (W.S.) cielu, is one of the few words of definitely W. or Middle Sax. type in Mod. Standard English. The non-W.S. form was O.E. celu, M.E. chēle, which would have given Mod. *cheal [tfil].

NOTE 2. The form Bushop. Such spellings as bushop, busshop for bishop are common from the fifteenth century to the eighteenth. They are found in Marg. Paston (1469); Ld. Berners' Froissart; a letter of Archbp. Cranmer (1537) Ellis 3. 3. 23 (at least nineteen times!); Ascham, Scholem. 127; Roper's Life of Sir T. More; Dr. Denton in Verney Mem. (1688). Cooper (1685) includes Bushop among pronunciations to be avoided, as peculiar to a 'barbarous dialect' (a phrase hardly applicable to that of his contemporary Dr. Denton); Jones (1701) says that the word is 'sounded Booshop by some'. There is no doubt therefore that the spellings represent a genuine pronunciation, which perhaps arose from rounding of i to [y] after b- then retracting to [ŭ] which appears to have remained. The form is apparently quite extinct now.

Combinative Treatment:

§256. i+r, or r+consonant.

In such words as sir, bird, first, etc., i seems to have been considerably modified, perhaps during the sixteenth century. The first stage may have been a raising of the back of the tongue, thus giving a high-flat vowel. This then became a pure back vowel, through the abandonment of the front action of the tongue. The high-back thus produced was levelled under the same sound from old i (§ 250) and became [a]. [bard, farst], etc. survive in Scotch. In English, the vowel was gradually lengthened as [r] was weakened, and finally lowered to a low-flat vowel $[\bar{\Lambda}]$. See history of ur in § 252. The combination ir is therefore a fruitful source of Modern $[\bar{\Lambda}]$. See also §§ 228, 239, and 252.

§ 257. When -ir- is followed by a vowel, it remains unaltered: spirit, stirrup, squirrel, etc.

§ 258. The in England [ingland], singe, hinge, wing, string is M.E. i from earlier e, before [n, ndž]. Quite apart from Northern influence, the spellings from fifteenth century onwards indicate the i type: Ingland, Yngland, Gregory; Fortescue, Wm. Paston (Judge); Cr. Knt. of Bath; Letters of Thos. Pery, Ellis, 2. 2. 146 (1539); Letter J. Mason, Ellis, 2. 2. 56 (1523); Ld. Berners passim, etc., etc. Kynges Bynche Gregory 149; Short Eng Chron. 68, etc.; Machyn 195 (twice); wrynchynge Ascham, Toxophilus 145. Scattered spellings with i for e before -n+d, t, s: Gintleman, Laneham's Letter 40 (1575); repint, Verney Mem. ii. 56 (1645);

rintes 'rents', ibid. ii. 84 (1642); attinding ibid. iv. 113 (1665); sincible Wentworth Papers 211 (1711).

M.E. and Early Modern au.

§ 259. Independent development—[au] < [5].

The English Grammarians of the sixteenth and some of the seventeenth century are open to the gravest suspicion when they deal with the old diphthongs. Having their attention rivetted on the spelling, it is enough that a sound should be spelt with two letters for them to describe two vowel sounds. The French writers, being more independent, are able, even in the sixteenth century, to indicate that au or aw expresses a single vowel. Wallis (1653) and Cooper (1685) attribute to these symbols a monophthong which must be approximately our present sound. The series of changes whereby this was reached from the M.E. sound were $[au < ou < 2u < 5^u < 5]$, the first step being the rounding of the first element by the influence of the second; and the last stage, the loss of the weakened u. Before the last stage was reached, old au was levelled under old ou, with the result that we now have the same sound in taught and daughter (earlier douhter, etc., see § 264). Surrey's spelling tought 'taught', and the rhyming of this with y-wrought, show that the levelling has taken place. Occasional spellings in the sixteenth century point to monophthongal pronunciation: Zachrisson (E. Stud., vol. 53. pp. 313-14) cites oll, defolte, ofull ('awful'), all from Suffolk Wills, c. 1500-15; one or two may be quoted from Machyn: hopene 'halfpenny', solmon 'salmon' 170, ontt 'aunt' 64, a nobe = 'an aulb', 'alb' 62. The inverted spellings caumplet Machyn 12, and clausset 'closet' Latimer, Seven Serm. 38, tell the same tale. There are a certain number of occasional spellings from fifteenth century documents which are illuminative, such as y-fole 'fallen', St. Editha 522 (1420), and several others cited by ¹ Zachrisson, especially beholue 'behalf' = behaylve, from Rolls of Parliament, cited from Morsbach, Schriftspr. 50. It is probable that monophthongization of au was complete before M.E. u reached the [ou] stage (§ 246).

Examples of M.E. au, present-day [5], are: claw, draw, law, hawk; naught, slaughter, taught; cause, fault; fifteenth century au (§ 218) occurred in call, malt, chalk, etc., etc. (On

the loss of *l* in chalk, etc., cp. § 284. (3).)

¹ Zachrisson now (Engl. Pron. in Shakespeare's Time, pp. 37-8) shows the inverted spelling auffer offer, from Cely P., previously quoted by him, and seriously questioned by Ekwall, Engl. Stud. 49, 279, &c., to be absolutely reliable.

Further, from M.E. aun in French words we have daunt, haunt, launch, laundress, taunt, etc., in so far as these have the pronunciation [dont], etc.

NOTE. As regards the pronunciation [a] which exists also in these words, as well as exclusively in aunt, the least unsatisfactory explanation seems to be that it goes back to a M.E. variant with a. The same applies to branch, chance, dance, chant, grant, etc., whose vowel interchanges with [a]. The difficulty is to account for the lengthening to eighteenthecentury [a] in [ant], etc., which form is a necessary precursor of the present one. Branch, etc., have [5] forms recorded by the early writers, and these also exist in the Mod. Dialects.

Combinative treatment of au.

Note. The following account of the combinative treatment of au in Mod. Engl. follows the ingenious and plausible article of Luick, Anglia, xvi, pp. 462-97. These views are very widely accepted, and appear to settle many difficulties. On the other hand, they raise others. The whole question cannot be regarded as finally settled.

§ 260. au before lip-consonants becomes $[\bar{a}]$.

The words calf, calve, half, halve, balm, salve, laugh, etc., are shown both by occasional early spellings and by the accounts of Grammarians to have had au at one time (cf. § 218). They now have $[\bar{a}]$ in Standard English. It is suggested that shortly after al in these words became [aul], the u was lost before the following lip-consonant, and the au underwent compensatory lengthening to $[\bar{a}]$. This \bar{a} was then fronted to $[\bar{x}]$ at the same time that short [au] was fronted. This [au] then became [au] again in the late eighteenth century. Thus the career of the vowel in calf was, after a certain point, identical with that in chaff, thus:

[tʃðí—tʃæf—tʃāf—tʃāf • kau(l)f—kāf—kāf—kāf]

and so on with the other words of this group. Luick admits that the $\lfloor k\bar{a}f \rfloor$ stage, which he has to assume for Early Modern, is not vouched for by any of the writers. He assumes that this development took place in the speech of the lower orders, which did not come within the Grammarians' province.

As regards laugh, laughter, draught, where the au developed in M.E. before a back consonant which subsequently became $f(\S 282)$; Luick assumes the series $[lau\chi^{\pi} < lauf < l\tilde{a}f < l\tilde{a}f$

< lat], etc.

NOTE. The disappearance of the u in laugh depends in Luick's scheme upon the development of the old $[\chi^w]$ into [f]. In dialects where $[\chi]$ remained, the diphthong also remained and became [5]; cp. [15h] in Scotch. Luick rightly says, p. 496, that there were two different developments in M.E., which led, one to [f], the other to $[\chi]$.

The starting-point is a back open cons. [χ] with lip-modification. In one type of speech the lip element is increased and the back weakened, and this ultimately results in [f] as in [lafta]. In the other, the lip element is weak and the back element strong, and no [f] arises, but $[\chi]$ remains, and is subsequently lost as in [sl5tə]. The weak point in Luick's scheme, it seems to me, is the assumption of the form [lauf] at all. There is, so far as I know, no evidence that it ever existed. (I am bound, however, to make him a present of loffe, Shakespeare, Midsummer N.D., First Fol. 1. 1, which looks like [1sf] from [15f] from [lauf]. It is capable of another interpretation nevertheless.) [laux], which gave [15x], we are certain of. It seems much simpler to assume that the type which developed [f] was never diphthongized at all, but passed from [lάχw] to [ldf] in M.E. Cp. the 1563 spelling laffe cit. § 221. If we take the two words slaughter and laughter we can compare and contrast the development [$sld\chi$ tər $< slau\chi$ tər $< slou\chi$ tər< sloutər> sloutər< sloutər< sloutər< sloutər< ldttər< ld>thattarrayttər< ld>thattarrayttər< ldttər< ldttər< ldttər< ldttər< ldttər< ldttər< ld>thattarrayttər< ldttər< ldtt much, besides being, as it appears, unnecessary. Again, as regards the suggested history of present-day [kāt], it is not proved that diphthongization before I was universal. What if there were M.E. dialects in which I was lost quite early before f? This might result in haf, caf, which would do away with difficulties involved in Luick's view. As a matter of fact haf 'half' occurs in Ayenbite, see § 221. On loss of l, see § 284. (3) below. Luick's theory assumes that the form [kaulf], whence [kauf], arose only to be monophthongized the next moment to the dubious early [kat]. The evidence of the Modern Dialects, among which [a, a, 5] forms are found for all the -al- words, even where I remains, seems to point to there being two types in E. Mod. - [\bar{a}], which became [\bar{a} (1)], and [aul], which became [5(1)].

§ 261. Present-day safe, save, chamber [seif, seiv, tseimbə] presuppose a M.E. ā (§ 225). Although these words occur with au in M.E., they are also found written saaf, etc. (§ 196). This monophthongization of an earlier au is due to the following lip-consonant, and took place, in some dialects, as early as the thirteenth century (Luick, Anglia, xvi. 503).

§ 262. au before [dž, ndž].

Before these sounds, au loses the second element and becomes \bar{a} , whence Present-day [ei]: gage or gauge, M.E. gage and gauge, danger earlier daunger, angel earlier aunge(l),

strange earlier straunge, change earlier chaunge, etc.

We have seen (§ 184) that in M.E. an and aun spellings both occur in these and other French words, and also that there is M.E. evidence for ā in such words. This will account for the present pronunciation. We assume therefore M.E. straunge < strānge, etc.

§ 263. Another tendency in M.E. (§ 171, final Note) is the diphthongization of a to ai before $[d\check{z}, t]$, f, and the sixteenth-century Grammarians give some evidence of the existence of

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this. It is therefore possible to explain danger, etc., either from M.E. daunger < danger, or from M.E. dainger.

See on these points Luick, Anglia, xvi. 485.

§ 264. M.E. ou.

This diphthong went through the stages [ou, 5°, 5] and was therefore levelled under old au (§ 259). The spelling tought, Tottel's Misc., p. 7, which rhymes in Surrey's poem with ywrought, together with Sackville's rhyme wrought—caught, Compl. D. of Buckingham 125, and draught—thought, ib. 127, show that the levelling has already taken place. Examples: daughter, brought, sought, wrought, M.E. douhter, brouhte, etc.

Note. Undiphthongized forms, in which old $[\chi]$ had become [f], are also recorded in Standard Engl. as late as eighteenth century— $[br\space{1mu}]$ ft, $d\space{1mu}$ fter $[cp.\ Horn, Hist. ne.\ Gr.,\ p.\ 195]$, and such pronunciations survive in the Mod. Dialects (cp. Wright, E. D. Gr., § 359). In Early Standard the two types must have coexisted—doubler, dofter, and the former won the place. The rhyme after-daughter $[d\space{2mu}]$ occurs in Marston's Eastward Hoe, v. 1 (1605). On the unrounding of M.E. δ cp. § 244 (2).

§ 265. M.E. ēu, īu, ū [ēu, īu, y].

There are several classes of words included here, some of native English, some of N. French origin: Tuesday, steward, true, knew, brew; rule, Jew; due, sure; rude, use, pure, duke, Luke; fruit, suit, pew, tune, etc., etc. It is quite simple to state that all these words, whether they had $[\bar{e}u, \bar{u}u, or \bar{y}]$ in M.E., now have either $[j\bar{u}]$, as $[ny\bar{u}, dj\bar{u}]$, etc., or $[\bar{u}]$ after $[r, d\check{z}, tf]$ and sometimes after [l], as $[br\bar{u}, r\bar{u}l, tf\bar{u}, d\check{z}\bar{u}, l\bar{u}k]$, etc.

The difficulty begins when we ask, what were the intervening stages, and at what point the old diphthongs were levelled under old $[\bar{y}]$. (1) The process seems to have been that $\bar{e}\bar{u}$ and $\bar{i}\bar{u}$ were first both levelled under $\bar{i}\bar{u}$, which became $[i\bar{y}, j\bar{y}]$; this was caught up by old \bar{u} , which also became $[j\bar{y}]$, thus giving at one and the same time $[stj\bar{y}$ ard, knj \bar{y} , dj \bar{y} k, j \bar{y} z], etc.

An elaborate discussion of this matter by Luick will be found in Anglia 45, pp. 132-181 (1920), and another has just been published by Zachrisson, Shakespeare Pronunc. (1927) pp. 79-95. Both of these writers review all the evidence with great care and minuteness, but reach different conclusions. Luick interprets the seventeenth century youspellings as indicating [jy], Zachrisson agrees with me that they mean [ju]. On the other hand, Zachrisson disbelieves in the prolonged survival of the French [y] at all, in England, and thinks that [ju] was very early substituted for it by English speakers, a process which is common at the present day, statements to the contrary by the Grammarians being due to a faulty analysis of the French sound. I do not know whether Professor Zachrisson will dismiss the very specific statement of Voltaire (see next page) as a Frenchman's error, nor whether Professor Luick will find in it, as I do, support for the view that the [y] sound was retained—at least among some speakers. H

From the fifteenth century at any rate, this sound, no matter which of the above sources it came from, is spelt indifferently ue, eu, ew: blwe 'blew' Pret. St. Editha; hue 'hewed', and slew, Robt. the Devil 922; greu 'grew', O.E. greow, rhymes vertú, Bokenam Pr. Marg. 159, and with issew, pursew, Bokenam Hom. 261; nyew 'new', R. Sustr. Men. 96. 25; sewer 'sure', Cely Papers 77, Dewke, and dew 'due', ib. 112, continew 78; Gabr. Harvey Letters, blue 14. 4; nu 'new', 14; shued 'showed', Verney Mem, iv. 107 (1665); hewmor, ibid. ii. 392 (1648). The levelling under a single sound is apparently quite early. (2) The next question is how long did the [y] sound remain in use? when was it retracted to [u]? This point has been much discussed, and opinions are still divided upon it, especially among those who rely chiefly on the old Grammarians. The facts are these: in the seventeenth century some Grammarians assert, as clearly and positively as they assert anything, that $[\bar{y}]$ still exists; others are as positive that it does not, Bp. Wilkins (1688) going so far as to maintain that Englishmen cannot pronounce this 'whistling letter', as he calls it, at all. Unless we are going to reject the Grammarians altogether, for which there is perhaps something to be said, it seems reasonable to believe that both groups are right, and that some speakers said [djyk, bljy, frjyt], etc., and others [djuk, blju, frjut], etc. The two usages may have belonged to different social dialects. The occasional spellings seem to prove at any rate that [ū] existed as early as the middle of the sixteenth century: A. Boorde c. 1535, Ellis' Letters III. ii. 303, yowse 'use'; Lady Hungerford, youes 'use' vb., Letters (c. 1569); Mary Verney's Will, youst 'used' (1639), V. Mem. ii. 17; Verney Mem. have also yous, ii. 380 (1647); youseg iii. 214 (1655); Wentw. Papers, youmore 'humour' 320, etc.; Mrs. Basire, ashours 'assure' Correspond. 112 (1653); Mrs. B.'s quewre, quewored 'cure, cured', p. 112, may imply either [kjȳə(r)d] or [kjū̄ə(r)d]. The ou spellings can surely only imply [u]. On the other hand Voltaire, who knew English well, and was in England from c. 1725 to 1728, states that in spite of the corruption of Engl. vowels, u retains the sound which it has in Fr., true being tru, not trou. See Dictionnaire Philosophique, article Langage. (3) The other point, when [jū] became [ū], is of secondary importance. [jū] is retained by most speakers of Received Standard, except after r- [rūl, rūd, frūt], etc. and also, as a rule, after L, though usage still fluctuates here, the same speaker sometimes saying [lūk] and [ljūt]. When another cons. precedes I [ū] is usual, [bljū, fljū], etc. being now felt asold-fashioned or provincial. After d-, t-, [jū] is now universal among good speakers, and

§§ 265-8] Rounded Type of 'Fire', etc. disappears 195

the once fashionable [dūk, tūzdi] are now confined to vulgar speakers. Note that the pronunciation [sugə, suə] presupposes [sjū-]. See § 283. (2).

§ 266. M.E. [ēu].

This diphthong was levelled under old [$\bar{e}u$], and like this, developed first to [$j\bar{y}$] then to [$j\bar{u}$]. See § 265.

Examples: dew < M.E. deu, O.E. deaw; few, M.E. fewe, O.E. feaw.

§ 267. M.E. ii $[\bar{y}]$ in Native English Words.

The only word in which the M.E. rounded type survives is bruise, and it is disputed whether this really represents O.E. brysan, or rather an Old French bruiser. Build preserves in its spelling the old ü-type from O.E. byldan, but not in pronunciation; the pronunciation [byld] is, however, recorded in the seventeenth century.

We have seen that O.E. \bar{y} became \bar{e} in the O.E. period in Kent, the S.E., and part of the E. Midland (§ 158 (\dot{e})). This

O. and M.E. & regularly becomes [i]; see § 229 (b).

In the North, in an area of E. Midl., and in Middles., O.E. \bar{y} was unrounded to $[\bar{\imath}]$ in Early M.E.; see § 158 (a). This type is found in bride, fire, hide, mice, lice, kine, M.E. brīd, fīr, hīden, mīs, līs, kīne, O.E. bryd, etc. They have the normal development of M.E. I (§ 254).

Note. This South Eastern & type, with Mod. [i] from O.E. & earlier y, occurs in some Modern Dialects [mīs, lis], etc., in Kt. and E. Midl. Similar forms in the South and S. West cannot, as sometimes stated, be so explained, but must be from M.E. unrounded forms mīs, kīn 'kine', etc., which were lowered to kēn, etc. in L. M.E. and then normally became [mīs, kīn], etc. in Mod. Engl. The West Country -beere, etc., in Pl. Ns. is of this origin, and represents M.E. bīr, O.E. byre 'byre'. See Wyld, E. St. 47, p. 166. The form heered 'hired', Wentw. Papers, p. 65 (1708) — O.E. hyran, may represent the S. Eastern type.

M.E. ai and ei.

§ 268. Independent Treatment: $[ai < \bar{x}i < \bar{x} < \bar{\epsilon} < \bar{\epsilon} < ei]$.

The old diphthongs ai, ei, were levelled under one sound [ai] in the M.E. period (Chaucer), though the traditional distinction survived in the spelling. Evidence of the levelling of this M.E. ai under M.E. \bar{a} , the new sound being at first either $[\bar{x}]$ or $[\bar{s}]$, exists from the fifteenth century onwards.

(1) Duke of Buckingham, fethful, Past. Letters i. 62 (1442-5); Shillingford, feale 'fail', p. 19; Mary Beaufort (1442-1509) sa 'say', Ellis i. 1. 47; Anne Boleyn, panes 'pains', Ellis i. 1.

306 (1528); Q. Eliz., agane, Ellis, II. ii. 213, (1553); pade 'paid', and wate 'wait', Verney Mem. ii. 103 (1642).

- (2) Inverted spellings of ai for M.E. ā: maide 'made', Cov. Leet Bk. 1. 24 (1421); trayvell, Ld. Berners, Froissart 1. 222 (1533); Thos. Pery (1539) Ellis, spayke 2. 2. 141; bayde' bade', tayking, ib. 146, etc.
- (3) Rhymes: Surrey, please-days; Sackville, dispair-fear, etc. See § 225 on M.E. ā, and § 232 on M.E. è3. It appears from above, and from the discussion on M.E. a and & , that these two vowels and M.E. ai had all the same sound from the fifteenth century. In addition to the use of ai for a just cited, the spelling ey for M.E. 22 in St. Editha may be mentioned; deythe 'death' 445; meyte 'meat' 1001; eyer 'ere', etc. It is hardly conceivable that this should have been written, as in these instances, to express length, if ey had still represented a diphthongal pronunciation in those words where it belonged historically. The Fr. Grammarians of the sixteenth century identify Eng. ai with Fr. ai and & English writers in this and the following century still insist that it represents a+i; Gill (1621) admits the existence of a monophthong in ai words in affected speech, but represents diphthongal pronunciation to be the normal mode. Even Cooper clings to this, but admits that when speaking 'negligently' people pronounce simple a as in cane. A fresh diphthongization occurred in the nineteenth century, and in the East Midland and Cockney dialects this has become [ai]. In many rural dialects at the present day, e.g. Oxfordshire and Berkshire, the full M.E. [ai] remains, and these dialects distinguish absolutely between this and the sound in old a words—name, pale, etc., which remains as [\vec{\varepsilon}] or [ē]; they also distinguish the old ai from the diphthong derived from old z, which has become [az]. See §§ 254, 270.

On the other hand, it is argued by Jespersen, Hart's Pronunciation of English, pp. 33-42; New Engl. Gr., pp. 323-8, that the old diphthongs were never monophthongized at all in Standard English, and consequently that the levelling of these with M.E. ā did not take place till the [ē] which arose from this was diphthongized. Zachrisson (pp. 196, etc.) thinks that 'much speaks in favour of Jespersen's theory'. These different views depend upon the interpretation placed on the statements of the early Grammarians. The most careful survey and weighing of these frequently leads to very different

conclusions in different minds.

Examples: clay, day, way, eight, rain, pray, sail; vein, pain, reign, dainty, saint, etc.

NOTE. Key [ki] is abnormal, and probably owes its form to rural dialect.

Combinative Treatment of M.E. ai.

§ 269. M.E. ai + r becomes $[\varepsilon \vartheta]$.

Just as M.E. ar did not pass beyond the [ex] stage, so M.E. air remained at this point of development: fair became [fæir, fær, fer, fer]. The M.E. pronunciation [fair] still survives in Oxfordshire.

Other examples are: chair, heir, prayer (French); stair, lair; their (Scandinavian).

§ 270. M.E. oi.

This sound appears at the present time as [3i], but there is no doubt that this pronunciation is due to the spelling. In order to understand the problems connected with the history of this diphthong in the Mod. period we have to consider (1) the spellings; (2) the rhymes; (3) the statements of the

more careful observers among the Grammarians.

(1) and (2) seem to establish quite conclusively an identity of pronunciation between the old oi, and that of the diphthong developed from M.E. 1 & 254: St. Editha spells anynted for 'anointed' 376; Gregory, dystryde 'destroyed', p. 59; pyson 'poison', p. 161; Verney Mem., gine 'join', iii. 433 (1656); byled 'boiled', iv. 223 (1670); implyment 'employment', iv. 276 (1686); Mrs. Basire, regis 'rejoice', Corresp. 137 (1654). For use of spelling oy to express the diphthong from old i see § 254. Such rhymes as toyle—compile—awhile—assoile, Spenser; smile -coil, Suckling; toil-isle, Waller; reviles-spoils, Denham; entwin'd-joyned, Cowley; refines-joins-lines, Dryden; surprise on poison Swift: toil pile, join divine line, Pope, etc., etc. point in the same direction as the occasional spellings. The stage at which the old diphthong was levelled under the new was probably [ai], a common diphthong used both in isle and oil at the present time in Berks, and Oxfordshire.

In the sixteenth century Mulcaster (Elementarie 1582) appears to distinguish two types among the oi words: [oi] in boy, enjoy, joy, annoy, toy; and [ŭi] in anoint, appoint, foil. The former of these was probably a spelling pronunciation. Wallis (1653) gives [oi] in noise, boys, toil, oil, but says that some pronounce either [ui] or [ai] in certain words, e.g. 'tūyl, tyl' by the side of toil, etc. Cooper (1685) gives (1) wines, blind, wind on one hand, and injoin, broil, ointment, etc. as having [ai]; (2) joy, coy, coif as having [oi]; and (3) boil, moil, point, poison as having [ui]. We may take the 'oi' pronunciation to be due to

the spelling as at present; the [ai] as the normal survival of the type represented by the above rhymes and spellings; and [ui] as due to a rounding after lip consonants, of the first element. This type is comparable to the rounding of the vowel in put (§ 251) and evidently was not a universal development, and soon

disappeared as a pronunciation of the oi diphthong.

The normal phonetic development of earlier [ai] in Received Standard would have been to [ai], a type which survives in vulgar speech and in many Regional dialects at the present day. This type disappeared gradually from polite use, as may be gathered from the statements of late eighteenth-century orthoëpists. Kenrick (1773), cit. Ellis, p. 1052, and Jespersen, New Engl. Gr., p. 329, declares that it is an affectation to pronounce boil, join, otherwise than as bile, jine, and yet it is 'a vicious custom in common conversation' to use this sound in oil, toil, which thereby 'are frequently pronounced exactly like isle, tile'. This shows that the new pronunciation [pi] had not yet been extended to all words.

NOTE. In joist, boil (on the body), groin, which go back to forms with i, the [5i] is generally explained as due to the artificial restoring tendency being carried too far, by including some of the wrong words. Jespersen, New Engl. Gr., p. 320, objects to this on the ground that oi spellings of some of these words occur very early—boyle 1529, joyst 1494, groin Shakespeare's Ven. and Ad. rhyming with swine. J. suggests that [5i] in groin may be due to the influence of loin, but offers no suggestions for the other words. It seems preferable to regard all these as survivals of the kind of spelling discussed, § 254.

§ 271. Table showing the M.E. origin of Modern English Vowel Sounds.

101101 Moderation			
Present-day Sound.	M.E. Vowel.	Present-day Examples.	Reference to §
[ei]	{(1) ā {(2) ai, ei	name day, way	§ 225 § 268
[ai]	(1) 1 (2) <i>ih</i>	wife night	§ 254 § 254
[oi] [au]	oi ū	joy house	§ 270 § 246
[024]	$\begin{cases} (1) & \partial^2 \\ (2) & \bar{\partial} u \end{cases}$	bone, throat bow (noun) §	§ 240 § 171. (8), 242
[iə]	((1) år	fear bare	§ 230 § 226 § 269
[63]	(2) air (3) Ēr	fair bear	§ 233 § 229
[1]	$\begin{cases} (1) & e^{2} \\ (2) & \bar{e}^{\frac{1}{2}} \\ (1) & \bar{o}^{\frac{1}{2}} \end{cases}$	see sea moon	§ 232 § 236
[ū]	(2) 1	brute :	§ 265

Present-day Sound.	M.E. Vowel.	Present-day Examples.	Reference to §
$[j\bar{u}] \begin{cases} 1 \\ 2 \\ 3 \end{cases}$	((1) # :	tune	§ 265
	(2) हैंग	blew	§ 265
	(3)	dew	\$ 265
(51)	((1) dr	hard	9 222
[ā]	(2) auf, or af	half §§:	218, 221, 260
[3]	(3) ds	pass	§ 219
	(4) <i>dp</i>	path	§ 219
	((I) au	cause	\$ 259
[5]](2) aul	all	§ 218
[3]	(3) or	cord	§ 241
	(4) op, of, os	froth, lost, off	§ 245
$\begin{bmatrix} \bar{\Lambda} \end{bmatrix} \begin{cases} \begin{pmatrix} 1 \\ 2 \\ 3 \end{pmatrix} \end{cases}$	((1) ur	curse	§ 252
	(2) or	word	§ 239
	(3) er	earth	§ 228
	(4) ir	bird	§ 256
	((I) #	nut	\$ 250
[a]	(2) of (with Early Mod. shorten-	blood	§ 236. (3)
	ing of [ū] to [ž])		
	((I) z after lip cons.	put	§ 251
[ŭ]	$1(2) \ \bar{\partial}^{1}$ (with late shortening of	good	§ 236. (2)
	Early Mod. [ü])		
[æ]	§(1) #	back	§ 217
[C] }(2	(2) & from 8	strap .	\$ 244; (2)
(I)	((I) 8	cot	§ 244
[5]	$\{(2) \ \delta^2 \text{ (with Mod. shortening)}$	hot	§ 243
	((3) wa, qua	wan, quantity	§ 223
[e] $\left\{ \begin{pmatrix} 1 \\ 2 \end{pmatrix} \right\}$	(I) 8	well	§ 227
	$(2) \tilde{e}^{*}$ (with late shortening)	breath	§ 235
	((I) i	sit	§ 255
[2]	(2) eng, eng, etc.	England, hinge	§ 258
	((3) \$\varepsilon^1 \text{ Early Mod. shortening}	breeches	231
[ə]	Back vowels in unstressed		272
	sylls.		

§ 272. The Vowels in Unstressed Syllables.

The tendency to shorten, reduce, or eliminate vowels in syllables that are weakly stressed, or totally devoid of stress, is common to all Germanic languages, and is traceable in English throughout its entire history. We see the effects of this tendency in the confusion of vowels in suffixes in Late O.E., and in M.E. the process has gone farther, with the result, for instance, that the old a, u, e in suffixes are no longer kept distinct, but for the most part merged in a sound which is written e. From the fifteenth century onwards the frequent occasional spellings make it clear that a wholesale system of reduction of unstressed vowels, in words of English, Scandinavian, and French origin, has long been established in the habitual pronunciation, the results of which are, so far as we can see, practically identical with what occurs in ordinary,

unstudied, natural pronunciation at the present day. It is evident that this is no sudden innovation, but must have been long preparing, and it is only because of the relatively close adherence to tradition by the professed scribes in M.E. that the reduction of unstressed vowels on a large scale cannot be traced much earlier.

There has been a counteracting tendency at work now for some centuries which aims at deliberately 'restoring' what is supposed to be the original sound, and this artificial attempt has been to some extent successful inasmuch that in many words a vowel may now be heard in an unstressed syllable which has been introduced from a desire to approximate to the spelling, where formerly a quite different sound was pronounced. In innumerable cases these artificial forms have become traditional, and must be regarded as more or less fixed, unless indeed, in the course of time, some fresh and irresistible tendency to reduce or eliminate shall sweep them away. Such a vowel is the o in obey, formerly [abei], now universally [oubéi] except in very rapid speech. In other words the restoration is a matter of individual preference, and such pronunciations as [tɔtɔiz, pɔpɔiz, mist[īf, pensil] and so on, instead of the normal [tɔtos, pɔpos, mistsif, pensl] must be regarded as solitary flowers of utterance, cultivated by those who wish to impart what they take to be some special grace and beauty to their speech.

It is sometimes said that Shakespeare, or Milton, or Dryden, if they could revisit this transitory life, would be shocked and distressed to hear their lines rendered by modern lips, and that they would be more particularly disturbed by the 'slurring' of the unaccented vowels. It is pretty certain that these great poets would feel some surprise, and perhaps some disapproval, could they hear our present-day speech, but it would not be of the kind, nor would it arise from the cause, that some anticipate. Our speech would in all probability strike them

as highly artificial, affected, finicky, and over-precise.

The only source of our information concerning the pronunciation of unstressed syllables before the late seventeenth century is the occasional spelling. The earliest Grammarians are dumb on the subject; even Cooper gives us but scanty information, and that only about a few words. More can be gathered from Jones (1701) and from some of the later writers, but in order to obtain anything like a comprehensive picture there is nothing for it but to collect laboriously a mass of illustrative material from the private letters of the fifteenth and following centuries. Even the official records of the

fifteenth century throw considerable light upon forms of the grammatical suffixes, and occasionally upon other points, but documents of this character will not serve us much for the

sixteenth, and not at all for the later centuries.

The occasional spellings, upon which we attempt to form our views regarding the pronunciation of unaccented vowels a few centuries back, may either (a) merely indicate indecision on the part of the writer, how to express a sound no longer adequately represented by the conventional spelling, as when we find the second syllable of staple written -el, -al, -ul, -yl, or (b) these spellings may point definitely to a specific sound, as when we find biskitt, sartyn, sesyn, etc. for biscuit, certain, season. These spellings sometimes indicate the existence of more than one type of pronunciation, the result of different tendencies, as fortin, fortewn, etc.

Speaking generally, the characteristic changes of the modern

period may be summarized as follows:

Front Vowels [æ] from earlier & becomes e [ɛ] which is levelled under original e which becomes i [i].

Rounded Vowels are unrounded: o and u are apparently levelled under a single sound, probably [a], whence [a];

French u[y] becomes i[i].

Diphthongs are monophthongized:

oi becomes [i] written e, i: ai, ei become e, later i, written e, i; ou, au become o, which unrounded to [a] written a; this sometimes remains, sometimes is fronted and written e. i. or v.

At the present time we may say that in Received Standard, old back (rounded) vowels, and the old diphthongs au, ou, tend to be pronounced [a] in unstressed syllables, while old front vowels, and the old diphthong ai, are pronounced [i], always supposing the pronunciation has not been influenced by the spelling. The old diphthong oi, in unstressed positions, is now very commonly 'restored'. On the other hand, some Regional and Class Dialects often tend to level all unstressed vowels under [a], others, though these are now probably rarer, seem to prefer [i], whence such pronunciations as the vulgar [matin] for mutton, now perhaps but rarely heard. We shall see in the early spellings what appear to be the predecessors of both types. For a fuller treatment of the problems and more copious illustrations the reader is referred to my History of Colloquial English, chap. vii. H*

UNACCENTED VOWELS IN DETAIL

§ 273. M.E. e in Unstressed Syllables. These suffixes by the side of the conventional -es, -eth, -ed spellings, appear frequently as -is -ys, -ith -yth, -id, -yd, in private letters and public documents from the fifteenth century onwards. By this time the -i- spellings can no longer be regarded as Regional. This type, which is now the established in Received Standard, becomes increasingly common in London documents by the end of the fifteenth century, and, to judge by the spellings, was that henceforth in use among the best speakers; it will suffice to mention that -yd, -ys, -yth, -id, -is, -ith spellings are found in the letters of Sir Thos. More, Sir Thos. Smith, Gabriel Harvey, Q. Eliz., the Verneys, and Lady Wentworth.

-est (2nd Pers. Sing.); Superl.; nouns (harvest, etc.): clepyst vb. Bokenam; eldyst, -ist, Gregory, etc.; harvist 'harvest', Sir T. Elyot, Gabr. Harvey; honist, dearist, Gabr. Harvey; largist, hottist, Q. Eliz.; honist, Alleyne Papers; sadist'saddest', greatist, Verney Mem.; dearist, modist, Lady Wentworth.

NOTE. intrust 'interest', Mary Verney's Will (1639), corresponds to type [intrest] still sometimes heard.

-en appears very frequently as -yn, etc., and -en, corresponding to present [-in], also less frequently as -on, probably corresponding to present [-in]: opynly, erthin, adj., Bury Wills; kechyn' kitchen', Lincs. Will (1451); lynyn' linen', Cely Papers; carpynter, Cely Papers; opyn, Ld. Berners; kytchyn, Lincs. Inventory (1527); hevyn' heaven', Sir Thos. More, Letters; chykynnes, Thos. Lever's Sermons; chickins, Gabr. Harvey; heavin' heaven', Q. Eliz.; childrin, wimin, pl., Verney Mem.; kitching, Lady Strafford, Wentw. Papers; sentimint, conshince, so pronounced by John Kemble, according to Leigh Hunt. The other type is represented by: ywryton, P. P. St. Editha; aunsion' ancient', Shillingford; opunli R. Sustr. Men.; writun, gotun, Fortescue; hofton' often', Cely Papers; burdon' burden', Sir Edw. Howard, Ellis ii. 1. 216 (1513).

-er, often written -yr in fifteenth century, by the side of -ar, -or, -ur, -r; these may all mean the same thing, as it is doubtful how long English really tolerated a clear 'i' before -r; the latter group presumably imply [ər] or simply syllabic [r]: aftyr, Bokenam, Bury Wills, Fortescue; ovyr, Bury Wills, Gregory, Cely Papers; fadir, modir, Bury Wills; bettyr, Bury Wills, Cely Papers. The other type occurs in: wondurful, Bokenam; remembr, Marg. Paston and Fortescue; soupar, Bury Wills; murdre, watre, undre, Caxton; mannor manner.

annsor 'answer', octobor, finar 'finer', brocur 'broker', Cely Papers; sistar, bettar, murdar, Q. Eliz. Note-ir- in middle of word, misirable, Verney Mem.

•el, written -yl, -il, as well as -ul, -le, etc.: appyltre, Bokenam; unkyll' uncle', Marg. Paston; bokyl' buckle', litil, candylstikke, pepil, stepyll, ladyll, archangill, Bury Wills; litil, sadyl, Caxton; saddyl, stapyll, craddyl, Cely Papers; startyl, sparkyll, devyll, etc., Skelton; postyll, Machyn; evangill, Sir Thos. Smith; cruilty, Verney Mem. (1644); spellings implying [(a)1]: double R. Sustr. Men.; nobole, noble, Caxton; stabul, Lincs. Wills (1451 and 1465); stapal, stapul, Cely Papers.

•less: harmlys, Marg. Paston (1465); -mest (-most): utmyst 'utmost', Shillingford (1447-50).

-ness: kindnis, happinis, darknis, businis, Q. Eliz.; bisnis, Verney Mem. (1665).

-ess: mistriss, Shakespeare First Fol. passim; Habington's Castara (1630-40); Jones (1701); dutchis, Lady Wentworth.

-lege (= -leche, -lege) knowlych, Marg. Paston; Shillingford; acknowliges, Verney Mem. (1661); collidg, Gabr. Harvey; collage, Bury Wills (1480).

•et: markyt, Cely Papers; interprit, Gabr. Harvey; interprett, Lady Lambton, Basire Corresp. (1649); bullits, blanckitt, Wentworth Papers.

Initial e-: astate, Bokenam, Fortescue, Gregory, Elyot, passim, Lord Berners, passim; alectyd, Cely Papers; ascapyn 'they escape', Bokenam; ascaped, Lord Berners; aronyous 'erroneous', Machyn.

§ 274. -a + consonants in unstressed syllables.

•ac: stomechere, Paston Letters; stummock, Gabr. Harvey; stomichers, Verney Mem. (1647); stomick, Baker (1724); almyneke, Cely Papers; obsticle, Verney Mem. (1647); carictor, Verney Mem., carecter, Wentworth Papers.

-age (later -ange): mesynger(s) S. of Rouen (1420), Gregory, St. Papers Hen. VIII, Bucks Will (1534).

-age: longege 'language', Gregory; marieges, Archbp. Cranmer, Letter, Ellis (1533); marriges, Roper's Life of More, Alleyn Papers 1593; vicaridge, Alleyne Mem. (1605), Dr. Basire (1673).

-mas: Cryustynmus, Machyn; crismus, Verney Mem. (1639 and 1656).

•as: purchisse, vb., Gabr. Harvey; Sir tomis chike, Verney Mem. (1643); but Sir tomos, Verney Mem. (1642).

-ave: Saynt Oleffes, Paston Letters (1462), St. Olive, Jones (1701).

-an: compeny, Machyn, compiny, Verney Mem. (1642).

-ate: pryvit, Wentworth Papers (1709); chockolet, ibid. (1711).

-dale: Dugdel's Baronage, Wentworth Papers (1709).

§ 275. -o- in unstressed syllables.

-on (M.E. -oun = -ūn); shortened to -ūn when stress was shifted to preceding syllable. sesyn 'season', Marg. Paston; resenably, Cely Papers; reasyn 'reason', Dr. Knight (1512); burgine, vb., Sir T. Elyot; mutten 'mutton', Rede me, etc. (1529); dungen, Bp. Latimer; dungin, Baker (1724); Devynshyre, Gregory; commyshin, Thos. Pery (1539); duggin 'dudgeon', Gabr. Harvey; posshene 'portion', Alleyne Papers; fashin'd, Chapman (1605); fashing, Verney Mem. (1664); sturgin 'sturgeon', punchin 'puncheon', flaggin 'flagon', Baker (1724); surgin 'surgeon' (1657), ribins' ribbons' (1664), prisiner (1647).

-o-: dysabey, Marg. Paston; abedyensses, Cely Papers; abay, Mrs. Basire (1654); apinions, Machyn.

§ 276. French ü [y] in unstressed syllables.

-une: commyne 'common', comynlaw, Shillingford; comyners, Gregory; comyngasion 'communication,' Wolsey to Hen. VIII; mysseforten, Machyn, misfortin, Verney Mem. (1642); fortin(e), Verney Mem. (1644, 1645, 1664, 1663); unfortinate, Verney Mem. (1659); fortin, Tony Lumpkin in She Stoops to Conquer.

-ure: to paster, vb., St. Editha; moister, Palladius; aventer, venter, Cely Papers, venterous, Machyn, Lily's Euphues, Verney Mem. (1642); venter, ibid. (1643, 1657); unscripterlye, Bp. Latimer; jointer, E. of Bath, Ellis Letters (1553); Roper's Life of More; gointer 'jointure', Alleyne Papers (1593); jointer, Verney Mem. (1643, 1657); picture said by Cooper (1685) to be pronounced like 'pick'ther' = [pikto]; mannering the ground, Wilson, Arte of Rhet.

-ut: savecondyte, Cely Papers; condytte 'conduit', Gregory; byskitt, Cely Papers; minite 'a note', Letters and Papers (1501).

-u-: repetation, Marg. Paston; menishone, 'munition', Verney Mem. (1642).

-u-: argament, Shillingford; newys 'nephews', Machyn; neuie 'nephew', Mrs. Basire (1655); valy 'value', vb., Verney Mem. (1642), Debity, ibid. (1662); vallyed, Wentw. Papers.

§§ 274-9] Unstressed Syllables; Unrounding, etc. 205

NOTE. Forms like fortin, moister, byskitt, etc., above, show the normal treatment of Fr. & in unstressed syllables, and go back to types accentuated on the first syllable, M.E. fortune, mbisture, etc. The forms of fortune, moisture, pasture, nature, etc., now used in Received Standard presuppose a different M.E. type, accentuated on the second syllable, fortune, moisture, nature, etc. This stressed form of -tune, -ture develops in the way described § 283. (1) to [-tj\vec{y}<-tj\vec{y}<-tf\vec{u}] so that the normal forms of this type in the above words, would be [nətʃúə, fətʃūn], etc. Our forms [néits], fotson], etc. are a kind of compromise, which may be accounted for by a late alteration of the place of stress after the [fortfun] stage had been reached, producing first [fotfun] then with shortening of a and subsequent unrounding of the resulting u [fɔtfun<fɔtfən]. We find in M.E. both types nature and nature indicated by metrical usage. The latter, with the English mode of accentuation produced sixteenth century, etc. [nétə(r); the former, with French accentuation, would produce [nætjýr<nætjýr<nætfýr<nætfúr], from which last, by a new shifting of the stress, we get our present [néit[]].

§ 277. Unrounding of Back-round vowels in unstressed syllables.

<u>a</u>: apon, Shillingford, Fortescue, Gregory (thrice), Cely Papers (four times), Machyn; anethe 'scarcely', O.E. unepes, Bokenam.

-our (ur): faveryng, Gregory; faverabull, Cely Papers; faver, Verney Mem. (1647); unsavery, Ascham, Tox.; semer 'Seymour', Machyn.

§ 278. Shortening of Long Vowels in Unstressed Syllables.

-ite: Muscovitts rhymes wittes, Shakespeare L. L. L.; infenit, Lady Wentworth.

-ile: fertill, Cavendish, L. of Wolsey; stirrell 'sterile', Shakesp. (First Fol.) Hen. IV. pt. I.

-meal: oatmelb' oatmeal', Verney Mem. (1657); Baker 1723 gives otmell as the pronunciation.

-night: senet 'se'nnight', Verney Mem. (1656), sennet, Roger L'Estrange (1681); fortnet 'fortnight' (1681).

§ 279. M.E. ai, ei in Unstressed Syllables.

ain, ein: výleny, St. Editha; villens, Sir Thos. Smith; villin, Verney Mem. (1655); vilanous, Q. Eliz. Letters, and Transl.; cértyn, Shillingford; Cavendish L. of Wolsey; sartinly, Verney Mem. (1642).

-ain-: synt Stevyn, sent Paul, Shillingford; syn Lenard, syn John, Gregory.

-ail: counselle, counsyler, St. Editha, counselle, Lord Berners, Capgrave's Chron.; travell, n., Lord Berners, Cavendish, vb.,

206 History of English Sounds: III. Modern [CHAP. VII travills, Autograph Letter from Isaac Walton in Aubrey's Lives.

-eis-: curtessy, Shillingford, Lord Berners; courtisie, Sir Thos. Smith.

'ai: Mundy, Gabr. Harvey, Verney Mem. 1647; Fridy, ibid. (1642).

N.B.—the 'they' is used in unstressed positions by Shilling-ford, Gregory, Q. Eliz.; ther 'their' by Gregory, Ordinances of Worcester, State Papers (1515), Skelton (thyr), Q. Eliz., Cavendish L. of Wolsey; them (by the side of thaim, theyme, etc.) in Hoccleve, Marg. Paston, Gregory, Sir Thos. More, Elyot, Latimer, Cavendish, etc. All these writers use theim, etc. also; them, which after the middle of the sixteenth century soon becomes the sole form, may have been influenced by hem, which survived by the side of the th- forms.

§ 280. M.E. oi in Unstressed Syllables.

-ois: Porpys, Gregory, Marston (porpice); Sir Thos. Browne's Vulgar Errors, porposes = [pɔrpəsiz]; toorkes, Bury Wills (1500); turkis, Milton, Sabrina's Song, Comus; but turkas, Cavendish, turcasse, Thos. Wilson; Shammee Gloves, Sir R. Verney (1685), shammy breeches, Mrs. Aphra Behn, Lucky Chance (1686).

-oin: 'Mr. George Gaskin', Spenser; Borgin = Burgoyne, Verney Mem. (1642).

CHAPTER VIII

THE PRONUNCIATION OF CONSONANTS IN THE MODERN PERIOD

6 281. IT is impossible to form an adequate idea of the pronunciation of an age unless, in addition to an approximate knowledge of the sounds of the vowels, stressed and unstressed, we are also able to gather some notions of the pronunciation of consonants, especially as this is affected by other sounds occurring in close juxtaposition, and sometimes, also, by absence of stress. These consonantal pronunciations are markedly characteristic; any deviation from the usage to which we are accustomed is apt to produce an effect of strangeness. In the examples which follow, there is unquestionable evidence of the respectable antiquity of many of our present-day pronunciations, and also of the existence, in earlier centuries, of others which have now been altogether abandoned in Received Standard, and of yet others which are being gradually eliminated in the speech of many of the younger generation. There can be no doubt that could we hear the pronunciation of the politest circles in the age of Elizabeth, of the Charleses, or of Anne, this would strike us as careless, slipshod, and 'incorrect' in respect of the consonants, just as the distribution of vowel sounds then current would produce on us the effect of rudeness and provincialism. As we have before had occasion to note, Received Standard has been much affected, during the last hundred-and-fifty years or so, by the tendency to regard approximation to the spelling as the test of elegance and correctness in speech. The result has been that many ancient and traditional pronunciations have been swept away by the schoolmaster, and many others will hardly survive more than a few generations longer.

The phenomena to be dealt with fall under the following

heads:

A. Isolative Changes without either Loss or Addition.

- B. Combinative Changes involving neither Loss nor Addition.
 - C. Loss of Consonants.
 - D. Addition of Consonants.
 - E. Voicing of Voiceless Consonants.

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As a rule it has only been possible here to give a comparatively few examples of each pronunciation, though, as far as practicable, an attempt is made to illustrate the occurrence of each over a wide period of time. Some of the phenomena are probably far older than the date of the earliest example given, but the greater adherence to traditional spelling by the M.E. scribes, compared with the habits in this respect of fifteenth-century and later writers of letters, etc., has here, as with the vowel changes, made it difficult to discover what were the conditions in earlier centuries. Doubtless a careful search in some of the by-ways of fourteenth-century written records would reveal much that at present can only be surmised.

For a fuller discussion and further illustrations see Chap. VIII of my History of Modern Colloquial English.

§ 282. A. Isolative Changes without Loss or Addition.

(1) (a) M.E. -(g)h becomes f.

At the end of a syllable, or before t, this sound $[\chi]$ either disappears as a consonant, or, if it remains, is lip-modified, and finally becomes [f]. In the south it probably disappeared early in most dialects; such a spelling as Edinburth (Lord Berners) for Edinburgh, which indicates a mere substitution of one sound for another, shows that the voiceless back open cons. was an unfamiliar sound. Cp. the similar substitution in [kipli] for Keighley, instead of $[ki\chi li]$.

f- spellings:—thorf, Marg. Paston (1465); troff 'trough', Leics. Will (1553); to laffe, Barnabe Googe (1563) and Gabr. Harvey Letters (1573-80); chuffes, Shakesp. Hen. IV, First Fol.; Butler (1643) gives f as the final sound in laugh, cough,

tough, enough.

(b) M.E. -(g)ht becomes -ft-, Gregory, unsoffethe 'unsought' = [ansoft]; Marston (1604) rhymes after—daughter; Butler (1634) gives dafter as the usual form of daughter, and dafter occurs several times in Verney Mem. (1645-55); Jones (1701) gives f in daughter, bought, nought, taught, etc.; a waiting-woman in Tom Jones writes soft for sought; Baker (1723) gives slafter as the pronunciation of slaughter.

Except in laughter we no longer use the types with -f-.

Note. The rhyme softe—dohter (MS. Harl.), = 'softly, daughter' -douter (MS. Laud.), K. Horn, 391-2, points to a very early change of -ht- to -ft-.

(2) Substitution of -in for -ing in unstressed positions. (Popularly and inaccurately called 'dropping the 'g'.')

Holdyn, drynkyn, Norf. Guilds (1389): such Pres. Part. forms occur throughout the fifteenth century in Paston Letters, Gregory, Exeter Tailors' Guild, etc.; in the sixteenth in Letters of Sir R. Graham (1520), O. Eliz., besichen, and they are fairly numerous in Machyn's Diary; in the seventeenth missin, bein, comin, disoblegin, lodgins, etc., etc., are frequent in Verney Mem.; Cooper (1685) states that coughing and coffin, coming and cummin, are pronounced alike: Lady Wentworth has a large numberingagin, mornin, fardin, writin, etc.; in the late eighteenth century Walker actually recommends -in when the first syllable of the word contains -ing, thus flingin, singin, etc.; he tolerates -in in other words also. Poets of the eighteenth, and those born early in the nineteenth century, constantly rhyme ruin -viewing, etc. At the present time thousands of the best speakers still use in forms, but it seems that since the thirties of the last century this was one of the 'mistakes' against which governesses and schoolmasters successfully waged war, and the result has been a widespread adoption of -ing [in] to agree with the spelling.

(3) Substitution of f for th [b] and v for [t] in all Positions.

erf 'earth', Bk. of Quint. (1460-70); Lambeffe, Gregory; frust 'thrust'; Frogmorton for Thr., Machyn; bequived 'bequeathed', Q. Eliz. Transl.; helfe 'health', Alleyne Papers (1593); kiff nor kin, Middleton, Chaste Maid in Cheapside (1630); Elphinston (1787) speaks of a tendency of the 'low English' to say Redriph for 'Rotherhithe', and loph for 'loath'; lofte for 'loathe' occurs in Verney Mem. (1645). At the present time this substitution seems to be rather a personal idiosyncrasy than a dialect feature, though it does appear to be frequent in a very low type of Cockney English. Lady Wentworth writes threvoles 'frivolous', which may imply that she attributed the sound v to the symbol th.

(4) sh [s] for final and medial s.

Reioshe 'rejoice', R. of Brunne (1303), cp. Bokenam's reioyshyng (1443) and dysshese; blesshyng, Oseney Register (1460); vesshell 'vessell', Marg. Paston 1461; kysshed 'kissed', Caxton Jason (1477); prynche, Machyn; burgishes 'burgesses', Verney Mem. (1645); parshalles 'parcels', Mrs. Basire (1653); winch'd, Congreve (1693); Elphinston notes cutlash, nonplush, frontishpiece as vulgar. The spelling Porchmouth, where the implied change is perhaps combinative, occurs three times in a letter of Sir T. Seymour, St. Papers Hen. VIII (1544); Verney Mem. (1665 and 1693–1780); and the slightly altered Poarchmouth is used by Elphinston to express what he regards as a vulgarism.

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These forms appear to be used in the following rhymes, e.g. prince—ynch, Rede me, etc. (1529) and Crashaw (1612-49), wishes—blisses—kisses; this is—wishes—kisses.

(5) Interchange of v- and w.

- (1) v- for w-, Bokenam, valkyng 'walking'; avayte 'await', Marg. Paston (1465); Prynce of Valys 'Wales', Gregory (1450-70); Machyn the Londoner has vomen (twice), Vestmynster, etc., etc.; Elphinston notes the confusion of v and w as characteristic of Londoners, and Walker mentions it with strong disapproval.
- (2) w-for v-. Bokenam, wyse 'vice'; Gregory, wery 'very'; Cely Papers, wase; Machyn, welvet 'velvet', woyce 'voice', wetelle 'victuals', wergers 'vergers', etc., etc. These vulgarisms, so typical of Mr. Weller, appear to have died out.

§ 283. B. Combinative Changes without Loss or Addition.

(1) -si-, -ti-, that is [-sj-, -tj-], become [f]; su- $[sj\bar{u}$ -] becomes

[ʃū-] through intermediate [-sj-, -tj-].

Marg. Paston, conschens 'conscience' (twice, 1469); Cely Papers, partyschon' partition'; restytuschon, oblygaschons, etc., etc.; Thos. Pery (1539) commyshins; Sir Thomas Seymour (1544) instrocshens; Gabr. Harvey Letters (1573-80) ishu; Verney Mem., indescreshons (1647); suspishiously (1646); fondashon; adishon (1650); condishon (1655). etc., etc. Cooper (1685) indicates -sh- as the sound of -ci-, -ti-, etc.

(2) Initial su-, = [sjū-] or [sjỹ-] (cp. § 265), becomes [ʃū-]. Alleyne Papers, sheute 'suit' (1593), shuite, Verney Mem. (1653); shewtid, Verney Mem. (1653), and shut, Mrs. Basire (1650); shuer, shur 'sure', Verney Mem. (1642), shewer, ibid. (1657); Mrs. Basire, ashoure 'assure' (1653); Cooper (1685) mentions the pronunciations shure, shugar; Jones (1701) says that sh- is heard in assume, assure, consume, ensue, suet, sugar, etc. In all these except sure, sugar, assure; present-day Received Standard has 'restored' [sjū-].

(3) -di, -du = [-dj, $-dj\tilde{u}]$ becomes $[-d\tilde{z}$, $d\tilde{z}u]$.

In some words such as grandeur [grændžə], soldier [souldžə], the old pronunciations still survive among most good speakers, but a more 'careful' pronunciation prevails in India, Indian, idiot, hideous, tedious, educate, etc., where [idžət, indžə, hidžəs, tidžəs, édžukeit] are hardly heard now except among rather old-fashioned speakers.

Machyn writes sawgears, Verney Mem. sogers (1642), Lady Wentworth, sogar 'soldier'; Verney Mem., teges = [tídžis]

(1647). Jones (1701) spells contages, soger, injan to express the pronunciation; Bertram (1753), transliterating for Danes, writes soldjer, indsjan, kudsju, etc., which certainly means [söldžə, indžən, kúdžu] 'could you', etc. Walker (1801) says good speakers pronounce edjucate, verchew, verdjure, and that they ought to say ojeous, insidjeous, Injean. Leigh Hunt (Autobiog.) records that John Kemble said 'ojus', 'hijjus', 'perfijjus'.

Note. [zj] becomes [ž] in pleasure, measure, brasier, etc. Verney Mem. has plesshur, plesshar (1642), and Jones indicates 'sh', clearly [ž],

in these words.

§ 284. C. Loss of Consonants.

(N.B. It is convenient to classify under this head one or two phenomena which from a strictly phonetic point of view do not involve a real loss; e.g. 'dropping the h', which is a mere change in the incidence of stress, and the omission of a final -d after n- as in poun for 'pound', which results from failure to denasalize.)

(1) Loss of Initial Aspirate.

In considering this process, a distinction must be made between words of pure English origin and those from French. It is doubtful whether the latter were originally pronounced with k.-. Even in respect of genuine English words, a Norman, French-speaking scribe often omits initial k- in the M.E. period, but it would be rash to assume, on that account, that among English speakers the aspirate was already lost. Again, the particular point now to be considered only arises in regard to stressed syllables. The loss of an aspirate at the beginning of unstressed syllables is an old habit, certainly belonging to the M.E. period, as we see from the spellings of forms of personal pronouns in unstressed positions (§§ 301, 305, 306), and of the auxiliary have, and of the second elements of old compounds, etc.

The spelling alf a pound Norf. Guilds (1389) appears to be a genuine early example of the loss in a stressed syllable. The Celys, who often insert an unnecessary k-, do not appear to omit it where it probably belongs. The following are apparently genuine: Owsold 'household' Lincs. Will (1451); astely 'hastily', Marg. Paston (1463); ede 'head', alff, 'half', ard 'hard', elmet 'helmet', all in Machyn. Cooper does not mention the 'dropping of k-' among his 'barbarisms'. There seems to be no example in the Verney Memoirs. Fielding makes a lady's maid in Tom Jones omit k- in ave, as, ad, though these are bad examples, since only the last occurs in

a stressed position. This person also writes at ome, but this is not a vulgarism, [ətóum] being frequently heard now from excellent speakers, and atóm is actually found in Layamon (c. 1200).

In a letter by Mr. Jackson's fiancée in Roderick Random (ch. xvi), which contains many vulgarisms and examples of illiteracy, h- is never omitted, though it is several times put in

where it has no business.

On the other hand, Elphinston (1787), Walker (1801), and Bachelor (1809) refer to the omission of initial h-among Londoners, the first-mentioned saying that 'many Ladies, Gentlemen, and others have totally discarded it'. The evidence is too scanty to enable us to judge when the habit became widespread, and at what period it came to be regarded as a vulgarism. It is now universal in Regional Dialects until we reach the North Country, and among many classes of persons who speak Modified Standard.

- (2) Loss of w.
- (a) Initially before rounded vowels. sor 'swore', Agnes Paston, Past. Letters (1451); sord 'sword', Alleyn Papers (1593); sourd, Sir R. Verney (1641), and Verney Mem. (1685) sord. Daines (1640) and Cooper (1685) agree in stating that w is 'quiescent' in this word, the former adding also swore and swound 'swoon', the latter sworn, and quote (= 'coat' in sound): Swollen is written sowlen in a sonnet by Thos. Watson (1593); Jones writes sord, solen, sorn.
- (b) Loss of w- at the beginning of unstressed syllables. This is normal, and a very old process, cp. uppard 'upward', Trinity Homs. (c. 1200); hammard 'homeward', in St. Editha several times. Mrs. Basire writes forard 'forward' (1654), now confined to nautical language; Mrs. Aphra Behn, aukard; Eddard is recorded as the pronunciation of Lady Lucy Pusey, who died in the middle of the last century. Except in Pl. Names such as Norwich, Southwark, etc., w is usually 'restored' in Received Standard.

(3) Loss of -l- before consonants.

In Received Standard -l- is normally lost in pronunciation before lip consonants and -k; otherwise, except in Colne, it is retained in stressed syllables. Should and Would lost the -l- in unstressed positions; Could, which originally owed its spelling, and later its pronunciation, with -l-, to the analogy of these words, also lost it in unstressed positions, if, indeed, it was ever pronounced there.

Apart from haf 'half' (see § 221) found in the fourteenth century, the earliest examples of l-less spellings date from the fifteenth century: Bp. Bekinton has behaf 'behalf' (1442), Short English Chronicle (1465), Fakonbrige 'Falcon-'; Cely Papers, fawkyner, Tawbot 'Talbot'; Gabr. Harvey Letters, Mamsey 'Malmsey'; Q. Eliz. stauke 'stalk'; Machyn writes hopene, 'halfpenny', and also the abnormal swone 'swollen', a type which is proved genuine by Surrey's rhyme bemoan-swolne (Tottel, p. 28; Surrey died 1547). Cooper (1685) notes the absence of in Holborn, still pronounced [houben], although the influence of the spelling is tending to introduce an I-sound in the speech of some. Jones (1701) gives a long list of L-less words, which on the whole agrees with our present usage, except that it gives hope, hopen as the pronunciation of holp, holpen, the obsolete strong Pret. and P. P. of help, and soldier. The old-fashioned pronunciation [soudžə] written soger, etc., by some of the Verney letter-writers, and in the next century by Lady Wentworth, and sawgears by Machyn, goes back to a different M.E. type (without -1) from our soldier.

Shud(d) 'should' appears in Elyot (1531); Gabr. Harvey's

Letters (1573-80); Verney Mem. (1642).

Would appears as wode, wood, Verney Mem. (1656). These are all the weak, unstressed type. The poets rhyme wouldhold, Wyatt; should-behold, gold, etc., Wyatt and Spenser; cool'd-should, Shakesp., etc.; Waller has would-mud.

Could, when stressed, was actually pronounced with -l-, cp. Spenser and Drayton, could-behold; Dryden, however, rhymes could-good. The genuineness of the L-pronunciation seems to be confirmed by the statements of Price, Wharton, and Cooper, who put together could-coold, as being pronounced alike.

(4) Loss of r, finally, and before Consonants.

(a) In Received Standard the sound of -r- has disappeared before consonants in hard, harsh, church, etc., and finally in car, hear, fur, etc. The preceding vowel has been lengthened.

So far as the evidence of the occasional spellings goes, it tends to show that the disappearance took place earliest

before -s, -sh, -ch [s, f, t]].

Bokenam (1439) rhymes adust-wurst; wosted qwisshens appears in a Lincs. Will (1450); Cely Papers have passell 'parcel', and also the inverted spellings marster, farther father', which seems to show that r+cons. was already eliminated in pronunciation; Gregory has mossell 'morsel'; in Rede me, etc. (1529), church rhymes such; skarsly 'scarcely'

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occurs in Robinson's translation of More's Utopia (1556), and in a letter of Sir T. Seymour (1544); Machyn (1550-2) writes Wosseter, Dasset, etc.; Surrey (Tottel) rhymes furst 'first' with dust and must; Alleyne Papers (1593) has posshene 'portion'; Sir Edm. Verney (1635-6) writes Fottescue; a fair number of r-less spellings are found in Verney Mem.; quater 'quarter', doset 'Dorset', passons 'parsons', fust 'first', all in 1642; drawers 'draws' (1674), and many others, and the inverted spelling father 'farther' (1656). Cooper (1685) writes wusted for worsted; Jones (1701) states that r is not pronounced in Worcester, harsh, marsh; Lady Wentworth and her correspondents (1705-11) write Gath 'Garth', Albemal Street, extrodinary, etc., etc.; Baker (1724) indicates the pronunciation of nurse, purse, thirsty, Ursula, sarsanet as nus, pus, thusty, Usly, sasnet.

These last spellings point to a very old loss of r before s, etc., which must have taken place before the preceding vowel was lengthened; they are of the same type as that seen in the rhymes given above from Bokenam, Rede me, and Surrey, and also in cust 'curst', Roister Doister, and burst—dust in Dryden. The present-day vulgar or facetious bust 'ruined', etc., and cuss 'curse' are survivals. The fact that in Received Standard the vowel is invariably long in all these words shows that we now use a different type, in which the r was lost at a much later period. Our pronunciation may, however, be due to the spelling. Dace (name of a fish) was originally darse, and must have lost its r in M.E., and the vowel must in this case have been lengthened, since the present form can only come

from a M.E. *das.

(b) Loss of final -r. On this point neither the occasional spellings nor the Grammarians throw much light. Lady Wentworth's spellings Bavarior, Operar show that she can have attached no phonetic value to the symbol. In words like better, under, etc., it seems probable that, the murmur vowel is the result of weakening of syllabic r. The present spelling -re is a survival of this. We find such spellings as remembr, undr, Sir John Fortescue (1471-6), and modre 'mother', Bp. Knight (1512), which probably represent [rimémbr, andr, mudr].

(c) Development of murmur glide between a long vowel and -r. The [ə] now heard as the second element of diphthongs, or the third of triphthongs, e. g. in ere, air, tear, here, fire, etc., etc., = [éə, t/ə, h/ə, fáiə] developed early after long vowels before -r. Already in the thirteenth century we find eyer 'ere', St. Editha =

[éər]. There are several later examples of such spellings:—desyer, requyer, Anne Boleyn (1528); hiare 'to hire' Sir T. Elyot (1531); devower, fyer, youers 'yours', Gabr. Harvey (1572-80); desiar, hiar 'hear', Q. Eliz. The spellings occur also in Verney Mem., desiar (1642), shewer 'sure' (1657), etc. Dr. Watts rhymes door—to her [duə(r)—tuə(r)]. Baker (1724) says that in fire, hire, etc., -re is pronounced like -ur. It seems that in here, etc. the development was [hīr < hīə < hīə < hīə] and not [hīr < hīə] as has been supposed.

(5) Loss or Assimilation of d and t before other Consonants.

(a) Loss of -d-. The examples are very numerous from the fifteenth century onwards; many of the pronunciations suggested by the early spellings may be heard to-day from good speakers in rapid speech-e.g. [bldinnis] 'blindness', etc. [wénzdz] is universal except in affected speech. Examples:freenly 'friendly', Hoccleve; St. Editha, bleynasse 'blindness', paunse 'pounds'; Shillingford (1447-50), Wensday; Gregory, Wanysday; Bp. Latimer, Sermons, Wensdaye, frensheppe; Machyn, granefather, Wostreet 'Wood Street'; Shakesp. rhymes hounds-downs (R. of Lucr.); Alleyne Papers, stanes 'stands' = [stænz], hanes 'hands'; Verney Papers, Wensday (1639); Verney Mem., Wensday, passim; hinmost (1674); Lord Rochester (d. 1680) rhymes wounds—lampoons; Jones (1701) says 'men being apt to pass over d in silence between -n- and another consonant', it is not sounded in Wensday, intends, commands; Lady Wentworth, Wensday (twice), hansomly, Clousley 'Cloudsley'; Baker (1724), hansome. Jones gives a list of words where d is not pronounced before -l-, e.g. landlord, friendly, candle, fondle, etc.; and even in children he says d is omitted.

The pronunciation [lanən] 'London', which was still a fashlonable pronunciation among the older generation into the seventies of last century, is found as Lonan at least three times in Mrs. Basire's Letters (1654), and once as Lonant; Gray writes Lunnon jocularly in a letter to Walpole (1757), implying that this was the latter's form; Elphinston (1787) says 'we

generally hear Lunnon'. ..

(b) Loss of -t-. St. Ed., fonstone; Marg. Paston (1448), morgage; Machyn, Brenfford; Q. Eliz., attemps, offen 'often', etc.; Alleyne Papers, wascote 'waistcoat' (1593); Verney Papers, wascott (1639); Chrismus (1639); Verney Mem., crismus (1656); Sir P. Warwick, Memoires of Charles I (1707), busling; Lady Wentworth (1708, etc.), Crismass, Wesminster, crisned 'christened'; Jones (1701) notices loss of

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-t- in a long list of words such as Christmas, costly, Eastcheap, lastly, beastly, gristle, whistle, mostly, roast beef, wristband, christen, etc., etc.; also colt's foot, maltster, saltcellar, Wiltshire, etc.

- (c) Loss of -b- before consonant:—assemlyd, Cely Papers; tremlyng, Cavendish (1557); nimlest, Q. Eliz. Letters; before vowel:—Cammerell, Machyn; Camerwell 'Camberwell', Alleyne Mem. (1607); Lameth 'Lambeth', Archbp. Cranmer (1534).
 - (6) Loss of final Consonants.
- (a) Loss of -d. The omission of final consonants, especially of d and t, but also of others after a preceding consonant, sometimes also after vowels, was a common tendency in the earlier centuries of the Modern Period. Examples:—blyn 'blind', Norf. Guilds (1389); God sene you 'send', Const. of Dynevor Castle, temp. Hen. IV; husbon, Marg. Paston (1440), hunder 'hundred', ibid. (1465); my Lor, Cely Papers; Edwar the IV, Gregory; blyne, Machyn; Verney Mem., friten P. P. (1642); Cooper (1685) writes thousn for the pronunciation of thousand; Lady Wentworth has dyomons, poun 'pound', thousan, own 'owned', Richmon, scaffels; Jones (1701) gives a long list of words in which -d is omitted, including almond, beyond, despond, diamond, Edmond, riband, scaffold, etc., etc.
- (b) Loss of -t. Synt Johan pe baptis, Norf. Guilds (1389); nex' next', Marg. Paston, and Cely Papers; excep, Cely Papers; uprigh, Recept. C. of Aragon (1503); Egype, Machyn; prompe 'prompt', Ascham Tox.; stricklier, Alleyne Papers (1608); Verney Papers, respecks (1629); Verney Mem., respeck (1650 and 1657); Papeses (1655); honis' honest' (1664); Mundynex (1647); Mrs. Basire, the res of our neighbours (1651). Jones (1701) says that -t is omitted in rapt, script, corrupt, strict, direct, respect, sect, etc., etc., also in pageant, sounded 'pagin'; Lady Wentworth, prospeck, riches 'richest', tex 'text', Peter Wentworth, strick 'strict'. Baker (1724) writes Egip, poscrip, ballas 'ballast'; Pope rhymes sex—neglects=[nigleks].
- (c) Loss of final -f. Kerchys 'kerchiefs', Bokenam (1443); Kerche, nekkerchys, Marg. Paston (1469), Sant Towleys for St. Olave's, the origin of Tooley (street), Machyn; masties 'mastiffs' (1513-30); handkerchers, Marston (1608); masty, Middleton (1608); Verney Mem., baly 'bailiff' (1642); Jones (1701) mastee, bailee, hussee, hussy 'housewife'; Baker (1724) handkercher, mastee.
- (d) Loss of final -b. We have long ceased to pronounce -b in lamb, comb, climb, even in inflected forms when a vowel follows:

§ 284] Loss of -v- between Vowels; of -h- before t 217

climber, combing, etc. We have, however, reinstated -b from the spelling in the Pl-Name Lambeth, from O.E. lamb + h\bar{y}b (h\bar{e}b) (landing-place', etc. But Archbp. Chichele writes Lamhyth (1418), and in a letter (1534) from Archbp. Cranmer (though not in his own hand) the form Lameth occurs; lameskynnes is found in R. Sustr. Men. (1450); and to clyme 'climb' in Euphues (1580); Gabr. Harvey has lamskin (1573-80); and come it 'comb' occurs in Verney Mem. (1642). Cooper (1685) notes loss of -b in climb, dumb, lamb, etc., etc. The -b in thumb and limb is unhistorical.

(7) Loss of open Consonants between vowels; loss after vowel and before a Consonant.

(a) Loss of v between vowels. St. Editha, senty 'seventy', swene, O.E. swefen 'dream', pament 'pavement'; Caxton, pament (1477); Machyn, Denshyre, etc.; Marston, I marle 'marvel' (1605); Verney Mem., senet 'seven night' (1656); Aubrey, Lives (1669-96), Shrineham 'Shrivenham', Berks., now [frivənəm]; Jones (1701) gives Dantry for Daventry, now

[déintri].

whight).

(b) Loss of h before t, preceded by front vowel. The original sound of h in night, etc. was [h]. In spite of the statements of some seventeenth-century Grammarians, this sound must have disappeared at least by the fifteenth century. Marg. Paston constantly has the inverted spelling wright for write, and so has E. of Surrey (1520) and Sir Thos. More (Letter in Ellis 1. 1. 199); Rede me spells quight 'quite'; Sir T. Elyot, lyte for 'light'; Cavendish, whight 'white'; Habington rhymes weight—fate, and height—state (1634); Spenser constantly writes quight, bight 'bite', and rhymes fight with white (often spelt

(c) Loss of h before t when preceded by a back vowel. (For ht < -ft see § 282 (b) above.) The evidence for this loss is earlier than for that after a front vowel; broute 'brought', Layamon (1200); naut' 'naught', Hali Meidenhad (1225); dowter 'daughter', Songs and Carols (c. 1400); W. of Shoreham (1307) has the inverted spelling foghte 'foot'. From the fifteenth century onwards the evidence, from direct omission of h, or by inverted spellings where it is put in words that never had the sound, is more copious; the following examples will suffice: Marg. Paston, kawt 'caught' (1450), ought 'out' (1461); Cely Papers, dowttyr; Henry VIII in Letter (1515), abought 'about'; Elyot, dought' doubt' (1531); Gabr. Harvey, droute 'drought', thoat 'thought'; Alleyne Papers, datter, dater (1593); Verney Mem., dater (1650), slater (1656).

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§ 285. Addition of Consonants.

(1) Development of y- [j] initially before Front Vowels.

This process is probably Regional in origin, but its results are found early in documents written both in the East and West, and forms with y-appear in the London Dialect (Machyn) and even penetrate into literary works. In the seventeenth century these forms are found among the Verneys and their friends, and survive late into the eighteenth, though they seem to have been regarded as a sign of rusticity. 'Year' [iz] for ear may still be heard from good old-fashioned speakers who have otherwise no trace of Class or Regional dialect. It seems doubtful whether even yearth has anything to do with similar spellings found in Kentish texts in M.E. Examples:-St. Editha, zende 'end'; Cov. Lt. Bk., zeuery 'every' (1430); Bokenam, yorth 'earth'; Shillingford, yerly 'early', yeuen 'even', yese 'ease'; Cely Papers, yells 'ells'; Thos. Pery (1539), yending 'ending'; Latimer, Sermons, yere 'ere', yearth 'earth'; Edw. VI First P.B. (1549), yer, 'ere', yearth, passim; Machyn, yere, passim; Lever's Sermons (1580), yearth, yearthly; Butler (1634) disapproves of yere 'ere', and yerst 'erst'; Verney Mem., year(e) (1665 and 1679), yearnestly; Cooper (1685) includes yerb and yearth amongst his barbarisms; Lord Chesterfield, Letter 149 (1749), includes yearth among the pronunciations of the vulgar man. Goldsmith (1759) puts yearl 'earl' into the mouth of a Club gossip, and a young squire in Humphrey Clinker (1771) italicizes yearl in a letter, as though to indicate a current pronunciation which he himself did not use. Elphinston (1787) notes that yearth and yerb are current both in England and Scotland, but not in good usage.

(2) Addition of 'parasitic' Consonant, finally, especially after -r, -n, -m, -l, -s, -f.

Palladius (1420), spaniald for spaniol; St. Editha, to past away; Capgrave, lynand; Sir J. Paston, ilde 'aisle'; Gregory, loste 'loss'; Card. Wolsey, synst 'since'; Lord Berners, kneled downed; Thos. Pery Letter, varment 'vermin; Gabr. Harvey, surjiant' surgeon'; Lily, Euphues, mushroompe; E.of Shrewsbury (1582), orphant; Q. Eliz., nonest' nonce'; Marston, orphant; Spenser, vylde 'vile', rhymes milde, F.Q.; Shakesp. First Fol. vylde, vyldely, passim; Verney Mem., schollards (1641); micklemust (1642), hold yeare 'whole' (1655); night-gownd (1688); Swift rhymes ferment—vermin[vāment]; Wentworth Papers, made the house laught (1710), not saft 'safe' (1710), sarment 'sermon' (1711 and 1713), gownds (1712), lost of time

(1711), etc., etc.; Elphinston notes sermont, drownd inf., gownd, scollard, wonst 'once' as vulgarisms; Pegge (1814) considered verment, serment, nyst, margent, as London vulgarisms. It is interesting to note how old these forms are, how widespread they once were among persons who frequented the best society of their day, and how hopelessly vulgar they are now become. The exception is margent, which is recognized by poets.

(3) Development of Front glide between g-, k-, and a following Vowel.

The results of this process, which produced such pronunciations as [kjād, kjaind, skjai], etc., are no longer heard in Received Standard, though the type was fashionable in the early nineteenth century, and survived among old speakers here and there, into the eighties of that century. The earliest certain traces are in Wallis's statement (1653) that can, get, begin were pronounced cyan, gyet, begyin, though it is possible that the spelling gearl 'girl', Lady Hobart, Verney Mem. (1644), may imply a pronunciation [gjéəl]. Elphinston and Walker (late eighteenth and early nineteenth century) are quite definite in emphasizing that this type of pronunciation is essentially refined and polite, as giving 'a fluent, liquid sound'. Walker expresses this by the spellings ke-ind, ke-ard, etc.

(4) Aspiration of Initial Vowels, popularly called 'putting in an h'.

This takes place only in stressed syllables, and especially in those that have extra strong sentence-stress. The habit has probably always, as now, been considered a vulgarism. It is doubtful how far an initial aspirate added by a M.E. scribe can be considered conclusive of his pronunciation. The following examples are probably all genuine: Norf. Guilds (1387) her the 'earth', hoke leaves; a large number of h-spellings occur in St. Editha (1420), houzt 'out', hende 'end', hevelle 'evil', harme 'arm', etc., etc.; Bokenam, hangyr 'anger', etc.; Gregory, hasche, the tree; Cely Papers, howlde 'old'; Marg. Paston, hour 'our', etc., etc.; Machyn has more examples than any of his contemporaries, including harme (of the body), herthe, here 'ear', Hambrose, haskyd 'asked', 'a gret dener as I have be hat', which is exactly what a vulgar speaker of to-day might say, only putting it 'the biggest dinner I was ever hat', where very strong stress falls upon the last word. Lady Sydenham, Verney Mem. (1642), writes hobblegaschons 'obligations'. There is no evidence, apart from the occasional spellings.

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that the habit of 'putting in an h' was widespread as a vulgarism before the later eighteenth century. It is not till then that the Grammarians mention it, and it is then also (1771) that Smollet makes the vulgar fiancée of Mr. Jackson (Roderick Random, ch. xvi) write hopjack 'object', heys' eyes', harms, etc. The fact that this practice is not found in America, nor in Ireland, also points to it being of late development as a common vulgarism.

§ 286. E. Voicing of Voiceless Consonants.

(1) Voicing of Initial wh- [w].

In Received Standard the vast majority of speakers make no difference between while and wile, between why and Wye, between what and Wat, pronouncing all alike with [w]. Only those speakers who have been influenced by Scotch. Irish, and North Country speakers, or who deliberately adopt the pronunciation, use the sound [w] at all. Although in Southern texts already in M.E. w- is occasionally written for hw- or wh-, London documents appear to preserve the latter spelling. In the fifteenth century a few w- spellings are found-wen, werof, in Creation of a Knight of the Bath (1493); Machyn has wyped 'whipped', warff 'wharf', and Cavendish wyght 'white', wye 'why'. There are very few of these spellings in Verney Mem., though anyware (1644) and wig 'whig' (1683) may be noted. The last is also used by Lady Wentworth (1709). All the seventeenth-century Grammarians state that h is pronounced in wh. Elphinston (1765–87) admits the complete disappearance of h in whale, etc.; Dr. Johnson in 1765 still believed that he heard the h; Walker regrets the London use of w for wh. It looks as if the present [w] for [w] had passed into Standard English from some Regional dialect, probably in the first instance through the lower strata of society. The pronunciation seems to have established itself rather late, and only gradually. able evidence is, however, inadequate for a final verdict.

(2) Voicing of Consonants medially, between Vowels; between a Consonant and a Vowel; finally.

St. Editha, crebulle 'cripple'; peyndynge 'painting', parde 'part', etc., etc.; Fortescue, treded 'treated'; Bk. of Quint., Fubiter (twice); Gregory, radyfyde, 'ratified', etc.; Cely Papers, jeberdy; Caxton, Jason, Fubyter; Bury Will (15c4), cobard; Sir Thos. More, Letters, Fubardy; Machyn, huntyd hunted', cubard; Alleyne Papers, conford; Verney Papers, debutye (1636); Verney Mem., prodistants (1642), medigate 'mitigate' (1657), Debity 'deputy' (1662); Mrs. Basire,

comford (1655). Jones (1701) gives a long list of words where p is written though b is pronounced, including Baptism, Cupid, Deputy, Gospel, Jupiter; Lady Wentworth (1705) writes prodistant, and Lady Strafford (1712) prodistation. Elphinston includes proddestant, padrole, pardner among London vulgarisms. Some of the words mentioned in the above list may still be heard pronounced as there indicated.



CHAPTER IX

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF ENGLISH INFLEXIONS

DEFINITE ARTICLE AND DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

§ 287. The O.E. Demonstrative Pronoun meaning 'that', but also used merely as a definite article, has the following forms:

III o	Pro Co	Sing.	1.4	Pl.—all Genders.
	M.	F	N.	
N. 1	S\$ 1. " 22"	580	poet	, þā
A.	bone	· þa ·	post	þā
G.	paes	pære	baes	pāra, pēra
D.	þæm, þām	pære	þæm, þam	þæm, þam
I.	by, bon			

§ 288. The O.E. Demonstrative Pronoun meaning 'this' is as follows:

	Sing.			Pl.—all Genders.	
	M.	F.	N.		
N.	pes	peos	<i>bis</i>	þās	
A.	pisne	þās	pis .	þās	
	pisses	pisse	pisses	þissa	
D.	pissum	pissum	pissum	pissum, peosum	
I.	bys	4, 4		0	

The Definite Article in M.E.

§ 289. The M.E. development, in all dialects, is in the direction of a gradual loss of all distinctions of Number, Gender, and Case, and the use of a single form which is indeclinable. The process of loss went on very rapidly in the North and Midlands, comparatively slowly in the South-West, and in Kentish. The first thing that happens is that for the Nom. Sing. $s\bar{e}$, $s\bar{e}\bar{o}$, a form $p\bar{e}$ is substituted which owes its $p\bar{e}$ to the analogy of the initial in the forms of all the other cases, Sing. and Pl. This indeclinable form is found to some extent, even in the South, in the earliest texts, alongside of the inflected forms.

§ 290. The South and S. West Dialects.

Twelfth Century. H. Rd. Tree (1170), which is copied from an O.E. text, preserves the O.E. forms of the Def. Art. to a great extent, though the distinctions of Gender and Case

are already weakening.

The uninflected *he* occurs once as an Acc. Sing. M., and once as a F. Sing. The Nom. se only occurs once. $\hbar e \bar{o}$ is once used as Acc. S. Fem. instead of $\hbar a$. The regular Acc. S. Masc. is $\hbar one$; $\hbar ene$ occurs, but rarely. The Dat. S. Fem. is $\hbar a r e$. The Neuter pat is used uninflected as in of pat watere. pet is used three times with a Fem. Noun. The Gen. Pl. is pare, paræ.

[I owe these statistics to Prof. Napier's Introduction to the text.]

Lambeth Homilies (before 1200) has the indecl. be for both Sing, and Pl. In addition, however, it has full forms of the M. Sing.: N. pe; Acc. pen, pene, penne; Dat. pon, pan. In the Fem. Sing. only the Dat. per survives, and in the Neut. pet, and pat (Nom.). The Pl. pa is used without inflexions for all cases, but the Dat. pan occurs.

Trinity Homilies (before 1200) seems to have only the un-

inflected be.

Thirteenth Century. Ancren Riwle (1210) uses the indecl. pe very commonly, but also preserves the Acc. pene, Gen. pes, Dat. pen, in the Masc. Sing. pet is used as an Article as well as demonstratively, without distinction of Gender. The Fem. per is found in Gen. and Dat. In the Pl. peo is used, undeclined, and pen survives in the Dat.

Moral Ode, and Owl and Nightingale (circa 1250) have pe indecl. regularly established; the former has also se, and the

latter uses the indecl. Pl. peo.

Robt. of Glos. (1298) uses chiefly the indeclinable pe, but occasionally pen after a preposition-porow pen eye, and the Neut. bet, bat, as a genuine Article.

Fourteenth Century. Trevisa (1387) has he exclusively.

Fifteenth Century. St. Editha (1420), apart from such survivals of pet as pe tone, pe toper, has only pe for all Genders and Cases, and for both Numbers.

We see that by the end of the twelfth century already the feeling for Gender and Case is much weakened, though the forms survive; that during the next two centuries, the

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indeclinable *be* gains ground, the other forms being used more and more rarely, until by the end of the fourteenth century or the beginning of the fifteenth, *be* is the exclusive form apart from a few fossilized phrases.

The Definite Article in the Midland Texts.

§ 291. The East Midland.

Twelfth Century. In the second continuation of the A.-S. Chron. (MS. Laud) written between 1122 and 1137, we find the indeclinable pe already in frequent use, and by its side the more archaic se, and sometimes pa. On the other hand, the inflected forms Sing. Masc., Acc., and Dat. pone, Gen. pes; Fem. N. and D. pā; Neut. Gen. pes, N. and Acc. pet, also occur. The feeling for Grammatical Gender is dying out. The usual Pl. form is pā, undeclined.

In the third continuation, between 1132 and 1154, the indeclinable be is fully established for all Genders and Cases and both Numbers, but bā is often used undeclined in the Pl. Seo ærcebiscop occurs, which shows how the feeling for Gender

was fading.

Thirteenth Century. Orm (1200) distinguishes only between Sing. and Pl., be in the former, $b\bar{a}$ in the latter, and the same is true of Gen. and Ex. (1250), except that this text writes $b\bar{a}$ for the Pl. form. Bestiary (1250) has be only, for both numbers.

We occasionally find pat in these texts, used rather as a Demonstrative than as a pure Art. We get also survivals like pe tone, and G. and E. sometimes uses po as a Dat. Sing.

§ 292. The Definite Article in Kentish Texts.

Twelfth Century. The earliest M.E. Kt. text, a collection of Homilies (MS. Vesp. A. 22) (1150), has already the indeclinable pe, but uses also se in the Nom. Másc. Otherwise, the O.E. forms, or their representatives, are pretty well preserved, which may be accounted for by the fact that this text is based upon an O.E. original.

We have in the Masc., a Gen. pes, and a Dat. pan and pam; in the Fem., a Nom. si, Acc. pō, pā, Dat. pare and per. In the

Pl. pa, and Dat. pan.

Thirteenth Century. Kentish Sermons (1250) has se, and pe and pō (indecl.) in Sing. Masc., Gen. pes, Dat. pan, Acc. pane, and a Fem. N. si, Neut. pet. The Pl. has pe, pa, pō (indecl.).

Fourteenth Century. Wil. of Shoreham (1307-27) and Azenbite (1340) show the fully developed use of the uninflected be irrespective of Number, Gender, and Case. bet is used, but appears to be chiefly demonstrative. Both texts make an occasional Acc. Masc. bane.

The Definite Article in the London and Literary Dialect.

§ 293. The London Dialect of Hen. III's Proclamation (1258) has an Indecl. Sing. pe, Indecl. Pl. po, but also Acc. Sing. pane, Dat. pan, a Neut. Sing. pat, and the form pare used as a Gen. Sing. before -riche 'kingdom', that is an old Gen. Fem. of the Art. before a Neuter word. Davie has only be, indeclinable.

Chaucer, Gower, and Wycliffe use the indeclinable be, the both for Sing, and Pl. and retain no distinctions of Case or Gender. The earlier bo, which survives as the Pl. form, occurs in Gower, only as the Pl. Demonstrative. It is, however, preserved by Mandeville (1356) as the Pl. Art., side by side

with the.

The London official documents of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries have practically the same usage. The uninflected be, the is the commonest form for all Genders and Cases, S. and Pl. pet oon, pet oper occur, and the specifically Pl. bo is actually found as late as 1427, in the Parliamentary Records. We must suppose that by that time it was an archaism as the Pl. of the article. The later fifteenth-century London Charters also occasionally use tho, thoo, but with a more definitely demonstrative force (Lekebusch, p. 111), and a few examples of it are also recorded as occurring in Caxton (Römstedt, p. 41), and, as a rarity, in Coverdale (Swearingen, p. 17).

The Definite Article in Modern English.

§ 294. By the end of the M.E. period all forms of the article except pe, the had practically vanished. pat had become a pure Demonstrative, and its subsequent history falls under that head. Even the old distinction between Sing. and Pl., which survived in the literary usage of the late fourteenth century, had disappeared from common use.

All that remains, in the Mod. period, of the once varied declension of the Definite Art. must be sought in a few set phrases, and words which preserve, here and there, the fossil of

a case ending.

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For the nonce contains the old Masc. or Neut. Dat. ben. O.E. bam. The name Atterbury preserves an old Dat. Fem.-M.E. atter, or at per, buri, O.E. at pare byrig. Such names as Nash, Nalder, and Noakes are all that is left of M.E. at pen asche, at pen aldre, at pen oke(s). The -s of the last is possessive with patronymic force.

DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS THIS AND THAT

& 205. We have seen that bat, the old Neuter N. and Acc. of Demonstrative Pron. and Article, is used with less and less of the general sense of the latter, and more and more with the more specific demonstrative sense, after the twelfth century. The old Pl. ba, later bo, except in the North, serves at first both as Pl. Art., and as that of the demonstrative 'that'. This is gradually displaced by bas, bos, the old Pl. meaning 'these'. bos is of course the ancestor of the Mod. those. bo being retained almost exclusively as the Pl. of the Def. Art. pe. Tho in the sense of 'those' occurs, however, at least as late as Caxton, and Gregory, and even in a letter of 1513 (Ellis, II. i. 218).

'This' is expressed by bis, bes, beos, with gradual loss of distinction of Gender, until bis, the old Neuter form, becomes

the prevailing one in the Sing.

A new Pl. beose, bese is formed on the type of the Nom. Fem. Sing., or Dat. Pl., and this is the ancestor of these. In the Nth. pir, and occasionally per, is found in the sense of 'these'; more rarely bir means 'those'.

Moral Ode (MS. Jesus 1250) has a Nom. Pl. beo 'those'. In the South, the Acc. Sing. Masc. pesne circurs in the early thirteenth century (God Ureisun). An inflected form pise is often used in the oblique cases in the Sth., in Kt. and Midl.

In twelfth-century Kentish (Vesp. A. 22), we find the inflected forms pesses, peses, Gen. Pl.

bo as the Pl. of his is found in Kt. Sermons (1250), Lam-

beth Homilies, and in Allit, P.

Morsbach's London documents have bis, thys, Pl. thise, but also pees, thees, these, etc.; pat, that, Pl. po, poo, tho, thoo, etc. This is also Chaucer's usage. Caxton has this, Pl. thise, this, and these.

Thoos (Pl. of that) occurs, but only sporadically (Römstedt, p. 41). In the later fifteenth-century London Charters, thes, these are the usual forms for the Pl. of this, but those, etc., is found fairly often (Lekebusch, pp. 111, 112).

THE PERSONAL PRONOUNS

& 206. The O.E. forms are the following:

	290.					0		
·	18	it.		nd ·		3rd Sing		Pl., all
	Sing.	Pl.	Sing.	Pl.	M.	F.	N.	Genders.
N. A.		we As	pā pā	ge eow	hē hine	hēō hīē, hi	hit hit	hie, hi, etc. hie, hi, etc. (hira
G.	mīn	üre	þīn	eower	his	hire	his	hiera heora
D.	mē	us	54	eow	him	hire	him	him, heom
		Ist Per	s.	, Di	JAL,	7 t	2nd Pe	
		vit (we				N. A. i	it 'ye' ncit, in	two'

§ 297. Compared with the inflexions of Nouns and Adjectives, those of the Pers. Pron. have been wonderfully well

G. incer

D. inc

preserved in English.

G. uncer

D. unc

The chief points to notice in the history of their usage are: (1) the generalizing of the Acc. Dat. Fow-you for the whole Pl. with the loss of the Nom. ye; (2) the loss of the Acc. hine; (3) the loss of the strong, aspirated hit; (4) the development of the form she for the old heo in the Fem.; (5) the substitution of they, their, them, the Scandinavian forms, for the English; (6) the loss by the old Genitives mīn, pīn, his, etc., of the real Genitive force, and the reduction of them to mere possessive Adjectives; (7) the loss of the old Dual forms.

The Pers. Pronouns in M.E.

§ 298. The First Person. There is little change and variety to record here. Practically all the early texts have: N. ic, ich, but i is found in Laud Chron. (1137); Acc. Dat. mē, and in the Pl. N. We, Acc. Dat. us, ous. The Sthn. texts usually write ich, the earliest (down to thirteenth century) having also The E. Midl. Orm. has icc. Northern texts have ik, and i. The form I, the only form now surviving, except in a small district in the S.-West, where uch [utf] (M.E. üch, ich) still lingers, comes into frequent use in all dialects, apparently, in the fourteenth century. Chaucer has I, but still uses ich. I no doubt arose originally in unstressed positions. Ich continues in common use in the S. and S.-West during the whole M.E. period. St. Editha (1420), however, usually has I, but also ich, and still joins ich on to auxiliary verbs-ichaue;

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ichulle 'I will'; icham. The author of Piers Plowman has I and ich, whereas Mandeville, Gower (Confessio Amantis), and Wycliffe use I as the only form.

Davie's poems in the London dialect of the early fourteenth century have both *ich* and *I*, the former being roughly five

times as frequent as the latter.

The weak i had of course a short vowel. After the loss of ich, etc., i was used in stressed as well as in unstressed positions. In the former it was lengthened to i, thus becoming a new strong form, distinguished by quantity from the unstressed form. It is from M.E. i that the Mod. I[ai] developed, and this is now used in unstressed as well as in stressed positions.

§ 299. Dual of First Pers.

Traces of this are found in Layamon (c. 1205), and in Owl and Nightingale (c. 1250). The Possessive or Gen. unker of us two, and the Dat. unk.

The Pronoun of the Second Person.

§ 300. The usual M.E. forms are:

Sing. Pl.

N. pū, hou, thou, etc. 38, y3, etc. A. D. pā, thee, etc. 50w. ow.

ēow, ow, zou, zuw, you, etc.

The Pl. yē, you are already used, as in Mod. Engl., by Chaucer and other M.E. writers in polite and respectful address, applied to a single person. Davie (1307-27) uses both pee, Dat. S., and zee, Nom., in addressing our Lord; also zou, Dat. Pl., in addressing Edward II. The Angel speaking to Davie says pou, pee. In a gerzeral way the distinction between Sing. and Pl. was maintained during the whole M.E. period. The Sing. thou, thee, were used late into Mod. English, in addressing inferiors, and in affectionate, intimate relations. In Present-day Standard English, the Singular forms are never used except in addressing the Deity. According to E. D. Gr., the Pron. of 2nd Pers. is in use in nearly all the dialects of England to express familiarity or contempt. It has disappeared from use in S. Scotl., and is very rarely heard in other parts of the country. Among the Society of Friends, thee still lingers as a Nom.

Confusion of ye and you.

The Mod. you is of course the old Dat. Caxton still uses ye for the Nom. and you only in oblique case. The sixteenth-

century language of the Prayer Book, and the seventeenthcentury language of the Authorized Version of the Bible, preserve the old distinction—e.g. 'Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you'. This seems to be the polite usage, as noted by Hoelper, p. 48, with regard to *Tottel's Miscellany*.

Otherwise confusion exists among sixteenth and seventeenth century writers, ye and you being used indiscriminately as Nom. or Obj. Apart from liturgical use, ye only survives in Stand. Engl. in a few phrases: [háudidū], where [I], with loss of [j], is due to its unstressed position, [þæŋkī] and [lúkī], now old-fashioned, and obsolescent. In the form [i] it survives in many rustic dialects, chiefly, I believe, in unstressed positions [kam jār wil i; didnt ai tel i?].

The use of thee as a Nom. among the Friends is doubtless due to the analogy of the other Nom. forms with the sound

[i]—he, she, we, and further to the Pl. ye.

The use of ye as an Obj. case is probably due to the analogy of the normal Early Mod. thee in the Sing., and the other Acc. Dat. form me.

The use of you as a Nom. may have been influenced by the Sing. thou, though certainly the two forms had not the same yowel.

There is no doubt that the various forms of the Pers. Pronouns have influenced each other in this way. In different periods, and among different divisions of the Community, there have been different starting-points—either [I] as expressing an Obj. Sing. on the pattern of me, thee; a Nom. Pl. on the model of ye, we; or Nom. Sing. on the lines of he, she.

Pronouns of the 3rd Person in M.E.

§ 301. Masculine Singular.

The usual forms are, like the O.E., Nom. he, Dat. him.

The old Acc. hine is not very common in M.E.; the Dat. him is used indifferently, even in early texts, for both Acc. and Dat. Even those texts which preserve hine, hyne, or hin use him also for the Acc. The old Acc. is found in Lambeth Homilies, Owl and Nightingale, and Moral Ode (Trinity MS.); in Robt. of Glos. (once after mid), the Kentish Sermons, and Shoreham's Poems. These texts, however, and the other Sthn. texts use him also. The earliest London sources have only him, hym. All the earliest E. Midl. texts use him indiscriminately for Dat. and Acc., though Gen. and Ex. has hin twice, once after of, and hine once.

The unstressed Dat. form im without the aspirate occurs in this text joined to the preceding verb—madim 'made for him', and in the same text the weak e occurs—'And spac une es. so

e gret, dat alle hise wlite wurd teres wet.'

Seeing how common the modern descendant of hine [ən] is in the rural dialects chiefly of the South and S.-West (cf. Wright, Dial. Gr., § 405b), it is surprising that it is not to be found oftener in M.E. literature, where it survives only till the early fourteenth century (Shoreham), and only in scattered examples. The form [ən] is always unstressed and used chiefly of inanimate objects, so far as my experience goes (in Oxfordshire and Berks.), and though sometimes applied to men, it is never used of women. In Oxfordshire at any rate, the stressed form of the Acc. Pron. Masc. is now generally [i], not [im] and never [in].

§ 302. Feminine Singular.

The origin of the mysterious Nom. form she, which has been the only form in literary English at any rate since the middle of the fourteenth century, is a puzzle that has never been satisfactorily solved. It may be a kind of blend between the old Fem. Art. and Demonstr. seo, M.E. [sjō] and the old Fem. Pers. Pron. heo, M.E. [hjō], but this is pure conjecture.

It will be well to give first an account of the earliest appearance, and the distribution of those forms of the Fem. Pron. which are either the ancestors or close relations of Mod. she, and then an account of the numerous other forms used in early

M.E. with the same meaning.

The earliest appearance of any pronoun at all like she is in E. Midl. in the latter part of the Laud Ghron. (middle of twelfth century), where $s\hat{c}x$ is fairly frequent. Orm., hity years later, does not know the form at all, nor does the Bestiary of 1250. Gen. and Ex., however, of approximately the same date, has she, and sge = [sje], together with other forms to be considered below. She and sho appear in Havelok (1300), but not in King Horn, about the same date.

It appears from this, since these are all E. Midl. texts, that the new form was established, on the whole, pretty firmly in the East Midlands, at any rate from the middle of the thirteenth century. The W. Midl. texts show sche, etc., coming in by the middle of the fourteenth century. Thus Will. of Pal. (1350) has sche, she, but also he and hue; Allit. P. has not the she-form at all, only ho; the author of Piers Plowman has sche but also heo. Audelay (1430) has generally heo, but

che and she occur a few times each; sheo occurs twice (Rasmussen, p. 78). Myrc, however (c. 1430), has no instance of such a form as sche.

The more polished fourteenth-century writers of the Midlands, Mandeville, Chaucer, Wycliffe, and Gower, all have sche or she only, which coincides with the prevailing usage in the London dialect of this period. The London documents (Morsbach), however, still have a few examples of 3he. The later London Charters have she, sche only (Lekebusch, p. 107). Northern Engl. and Scots texts have $s(c)h\bar{c}$.

Any form such as sche, six, etc., appears to be unknown during the whole M.E. period in any pure Southern text, whether Kentish or Saxon in dialect, apart from the quite exceptional shee which occurs once or twice in Trevisa instead of his usual heo, hue; cp. Morris's Introd. to Azenbite, p. i.

We may say, then, that *she*, whether it actually arose in the Nth., or the E. Midl., or in both independently, must have penetrated into Literary and Standard Engl. from the E. Midl. dialect.

NOTE. There is, perhaps, something to be said for Lindquist's view, Anglia 44, that she arose from the -s of 3rd Pers. Pres. combining with $[heo = j\bar{o}]$ in versions such as cumes heo, etc., in the Nthn. dialect.

Other forms of the Pron. of 3rd Person Fem.

§ 303. Perhaps the commonest form (Nom.) in the South is heo, probably originally = $[h\bar{o}]$. This was later unrounded to $h\bar{e}$, which we find, together with $h\bar{\iota}$, in St. Ed. Hi also appears in Kentish (Azenbite). The form hi is used occasionally as an Acc., though the Dat. hire, hir already in Laud. Chr. has come into use for that purpose. The inconvenience of hi, which was also, as we shall see, a common form for the N. and Acc. Pl., and of $h\bar{e}\bar{o}$, or $h\bar{e}$, which was identical with the Masc. Pron., is obvious.

What appears to be an unstressed form, ha, occurs by the side of $h\bar{e}o$ in A. R. Late Sthn. (Trevisa) has, besides $h\bar{e}o$, a form hue which may = [hy], and be due either to the analogy of the Gen. hur, hure (O.E. hyre), or to a special treatment of $[\phi]$ from $\bar{e}o$ (cp. § 168 above). In the latter case hue would simply be a late form of $h\bar{e}o$. St. Ed. (1420) has

hee, he, as the only forms.

Turning to the Midlands, we find a fair variety of forms besides sche, etc., already discussed. Orm. has 3ho which probably = $[hj\bar{e}]$ from $h\bar{e}\bar{e}$; Bestiary has ge, probably = $[hj\bar{e}]$, also from $h\bar{e}\bar{e}$ with unrounding of [p] or monophthonging of

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 \overline{eo} ; Gen. and Ex. besides she, sge, has ge and ghe, which mean no doubt the same thing and correspond to the form in Bestiary; King Horn still writes heo. The W. Midl. Wil. of Pal. has hue, and Allit. P. hō, which presumably is due to a late O.E. * $h(e)\bar{o}$; Fos. of Ar. heo; Myrc has generally heo, but also occasionally ho and he. This form is probably the ancestor of the Mod. dial. [hū] used in Derbyshire and Cheshire.

§ 304. Had the M.E. distribution of the forms of this pronoun remained undisturbed, we should apparently have had she [sī], in Standard Eng., in the E. Midl. and in the North generally; we should have had [hī] in the Southern Area, including Kent, together with a weak form [ə], while in the West, and perhaps the Central Midlands, we should have [hū].

§ 305. The M.E. Dat. Fem. of the pronoun of the 3rd Pers. is regularly hire, hir, or here, her, and these forms are found in all dialects, though careful authors, or scribes (e.g. Gower), sometimes distinguish between hir, hire, on the one hand, which they keep for the Fem. Sing., and here, etc., which is the Possessive Pl., on the other. The majority of texts, however, write hire, here, indifferently. This is the case in some Chaucer MSS., though others use hire in the Fem. Sing., and here in the Possessive Pl.; others again reverse this. The London official documents of the fourteenth century use here, her for the Fem. Sing. D. Mandeville and Wycl. have hir, hire.

Parallel to the M.E. levelling of the Sing. Acc. Masc. pronoun under the Dat. form is the use of the Dat. Fem. for the Acc. also, which is universal in all dialects. The Acc. hi, referring to a grammatically Fem. Noun, used in O. and N. and in Shoreham, is exceptional. Modern usage has fixed on her as the Acc. Dat. Sing. Fem. The weakened form of this, without the aspirate, must have been in use in M.E., though it is not so commonly recorded as the weakened form of hit (cp. § 306). St. Editha has hoselder and aneled herre, 'communicated her and gave her extreme unction'.

[On the distribution of hir and her in M.E. see § 311, under Possessive Pronouns.]

The Neuter Pronoun of the 3rd Pers.

§ 306. The usual Nom. and Acc. form in M.E. is hit in all dialects, and the other cases are identical with those of the Masc. Pron.

Weakening to it.

This is noticeable in E. Midl. texts of an early date: Laud Chron., Orm., Bestiary, Gen. and Ex. all have the weakened form. The W. Midl. have both hit and it. The earliest Sthn. and Kentish texts have hit, hyt, but the late thirteenth-century Robt. of Glos. has it as well as hit. This appears to be exceptional in the South, where hit, hyt are the typical forms.

The earliest London sources have hit only. Davie (1327) has hit and it.

The form a used by Trevisa as an impersonal pronoun should be noted. The same writer uses this form also as a weak (unstressed) form of the Masc. (or Neut.?) Pron. It refers to the agate stone in the phrase a ys blak as gemmes bup, ... a brennep yn water.

Of the fourteenth-century London documents the Charters generally have either *hit* or *it*; only once, according to Morsbach (*Schriftspr.*, pp. 121-3), do both forms occur in the same document; the Wills and State Records have both forms.

Gower generally has it, seldom hit; Chaucer has both, hit

being commoner.

Caxton (Troye) still retains hit, hyt, though it is commoner.

(Cp. also Römstedt, p. 40.)

The late fifteenth-century Charters have both forms, it being the more common (Lekebusch, p. 107).

Q. Eliz. frequently writes hit both in letters and transl.

The Plural Forms of the 3rd Person (Nom., Acc., Dat.).

§ 307. The normal M.E. continuations of the O.E. hie Nom. and Acc., heom Dat., and heora, hira Gen., are hi, hem, here, hire, respectively, or variants of these. (The Gen. forms will be considered below, § 312, under Possessive Pronouns.) The point of interest in the history of the Pl. forms is the gradual introduction and substitution for the native forms of the forms pei, peim, peir, and their variants, which are of Scandinavian origin.

It would appear that few pure Southern or Kentish texts have any of these p-forms before the fifteenth century. The solitary form pei 'they' occurs, strangely enough, in the Trin. Homs. The following table shows the N., A., and D. forms in the principal Sth. and Kt. texts down to the middle of the fourteenth century:

S.	and	S.	W.

	Lam. Homs.	Trin. Homs,	Moral Ode.	O. & N.	R. of Glos.	Tre- visa.
N. A.	he, ha hes	hie, he (pei) hes, is	hi, hy	hi, heo	hii, hi hom (is)	hy, hi, a
D.	heom, ham	1 3	heom,	heom,	hem,	ham ham

Kentish.

	Vesp. A. 22.	Kt. Sermons.	Shoreham.	Azenbite.
N. A. D.	his, es ham	hi hi, hii ham	hi, hy ham, hys hem	hise, his (very frequent) ham

The fifteenth-century St. Editha seems to be the first Sthn. text which has bey, bai in the N. Pl., as the only form, but the native forms hem Acc. and Dat., and hure, etc. (cp. § 312 below) are retained.

The E. Midl. texts tell rather a different story, and we find the Scandinavian forms coming in quite early, but even in this

area the Nom, is earlier than the other cases.

N. A. D.	Laud Chron. hi heom heom, him	1200. Orm. je33 hemm hemm, je33	1250. Bestiary. he hem, is hem	Gen. & Ex. he, pei 573 hem, is, hes hem
N. A.	1300. Havelok. pei, he hem, ys, es	1300. King Horn. hi, ha hem	Robt. of Brunne. pey hem hem	1440. Bokenam. they, bei pem, hem hem

Centr. Midland

West Midland.

_	1350.	1220.	1350.	1350.	1426.	1450.
E.	E. Pr. Ps.	Ancr. Riwle.	Allit. P.	Jos. of Ar.	Audelay.	Myrc.
A. D.	hii, hij hem	hom	pai hem, hom	pei, heo hem	thai hem, ham,	pey hem
D.	hem	hom	hem, hom	hem, heom	hom	hem

The London official dialect of the thirteenth century, as shown in Henry III's Proclamation (1258), has only heo for Nom. Pl., and heom in Acc. and Dat.; Davie (1327) has still only hij in N. Pl.

All the London official documents of the fourteenth century have pei, pey, they, etc., in the Nom. In the earliest Lond. Ch., for the other cases, hem alone is found, and even in the later

documents where paym, thaim, pam, etc., appear, hem prepon-

derates largely (Morsbach, Schriftspr., pp. 122, 123).

The language of Mandeville, Chaucer, Gower, and Wycliffe agrees in this respect with the fourteenth-century London documents; these writers all have thei, pei, they, etc., in the Nom., but the Scand. forms are unknown in the other cases: Acc. Dat. hem. Hoccleve and Lydgate (1420) have pei, they in Nom. but hem in the oblique cases; Malory (1469) has they in Nom., theym, them in Acc., hem in Dat.; Caxton (Troye, 1471) they, but hem more usually in Dat. Acc., though I note also them in Acc. Nut-brown Maid (1500) and Skelton (1522) have the th-forms throughout. I have noted the form hem as late as 1605, several times in Marston's Eastward Hoe.

All the Present-day dialects have they or some variant of it; the old hi, etc., has completely vanished. In the oblique cases, however, [em], the descendant of hem, survives to this day in the dialects and even in Standard English. This is the form written 'em, as though it were reduced from them. Down to and during the eighteenth century, this form was a recognized form even in serious, if somewhat colloquial

writing.

In good colloquial Spoken English [am] is frequent, though perhaps becoming obsolescent among some classes of society. The loss of the initial k parallel to that in it, and the reduction of the vowel, are of course due to the unstressed position, in which alone [am] can be used.

We may summarize the results of the above account of the

Pers. Pronouns in M.E. in the following table:

First Person.

N. ic, icc, ich, l, y

Acc. Dat. me

Second Person.

jū, thou, jou

je, thee, jee

kim

Masc.

Third Person. Fem.

Neuter.

N. hē, ha, a •

heo, hi, hue, ho, ze, zhe, zho, N.A. hil, il, a size, schee, sche, ske, scho,

A. hine, hyne, hin, him, hym hi, here, her, hire, hir, er

D. him, hym

hire, here, etc., hurre

Plural.

N. hie, hi, hij, heo, bei, bai, beet, they, thai, etc.

A. hi, heom, hem, ham, hise, his, paim, peim, pem, thaim, them, theym, etc.

D. heom, hem, hemm, ham, hom, baim, beim, etc.

Possessive Pronouns

§ 308. The O.E. Genitives, mīn, pīn, his, etc., were used both as real Genitives and as purely possessive adjectives. In the former case they were often used after verbs and adjectives which in O.E. govern the Gen., e.g. ic eom his gepafa 'I consent to it (his)'; or God helpe mīn 'God help me', etc.

In the second case, some of these words (mīn, pīn, eower, are) were declined in full like ordinary adjectives, agreeing in Number, Gender, and Case with the nouns before which they

stood-mid minum eagum (Dat. Pl.) 'with my eyes'.

In M.E. the purely Genitive force is very early lost, though there are some examples of a survival of this in early texts: e. g. pe huile he mei his (es, hes) wealden 'so long as he has power over it', where his is the Gen. of the Neuter hit, governed by wealden 'rule, have power over, etc.' (Moral Ode, Egerton, Jesus, and Trin. MSS., l. 55); further, sog ic is have drogen in wo, Gen. and Ex. 2403, 'though I have borne it (is) in misery'.

Azenbite has God his aurekep, p. 70, 'God will punish it'; bote he his ne knawe, 'unless he know it not', ibid. (N.B. In all these cases, however, his, hes, es may be the typical S.E.

and S.E. Midl. Acc. Pl. Cp. § 307, p. 234.)

The Genitives of the Pers. Prons., then, become mere Possessives, and are usually uninflected, though occasionally they take a suffix -e, probably on the analogy of hire, here 'her', 'their', which preserved the e from O.E. e, and a.

The typical M.E. forms of the possessives are as follows, though it seems unnecessary to give an exhaustive list of every

possible variant:

				3rd	
Sing.	1st mīn	and bin	M.	P. hire, here	N.
Pl.	mi ure oùre	þi Jure Youre	hise here heore	his, her	
		oure, etc.	hare hor, hure, etc.		

§ 309. The First Person.

M.E. texts often—one might say generally—distinguish between mīn used before words beginning with vowels, and mī

before those beginning with consonants.

In the Sth., God Ureisun, Soules Warde, Owl and Nightingale, and in the Kt. Homilies, Vesp. A. 22, the form mire occurs, probably formed from mi- on the analogy of hi-re (Fem.) (mire is found already in 991, in a Suffolk Ch.)

§ 310. The Second Person,

The same distinction between hin and hi is made as between min and mi. Owl and Nightingale and God Ur. have a form bire (also Dat. Fem.) which may be explained on the same analogy as mire, § 309 above. Or the analogy may be the Pl. 30u-re, ou-re.

NOTE. Parallel to mire, bire, Owl and Nightingale and Moral Ode have $\bar{\sigma}re$ Dat. Sing. Fem. of $\bar{\sigma}$ 'one'. The O.E. forms are $\bar{d}n$, $\bar{d}nre$. $\bar{O}re$ is probably a new formation from M.E. Nom. $\bar{\sigma}$ (before cons.), which was often used by Chaucer as a kind of emphatic Indef. Art., 'a single one', etc.

The Possessive Pronoun of 3rd Person Feminine.

§ 311. The O.E. form hire survives in M.E. as hire, hyre, in nearly all texts, and is far the commonest form. We find here but rarely in early texts. St. Editha, however, favours herre, but also has hurre and hur. The forms with e probably owe this vowel to the analogy of such a Nom. Fem. as he. Hurre probably represents an older heore, where the diphthong may be due either to the Nom. heo or to the diphthongized forms of the Pl.: heom, heora, etc. Of course M.E. forms with u may also represent an O.E. hyre.

The use of her(e) is of interest, since it is the ancestor of the Standard English form. In the West Midl. Wil. of Pal. here occurs, though hire is the commonest form, and hure occurs once according to Skeat (Glossary of W. of Pal.). Allit. P. seems generally to have her as Possess, though hyr otherwise;

Myrc has hyre.

Turning to the London and Literary Dialect, the London Records have her(e) far more frequently than hir (Morsbach, p. 126); Gower and Chaucer have only hir(e); Capgrave (1394-1460), hire, here being rare (Dibelius, Anglia, xxiv. 220); Lydgate (1420), usually her as Possess., hir in the other cases; Pecock (1449), her; the rather illiterate Cely Papers which give a good picture of Middle Class speech (1475-88) have here, hyr, and occasionally har (Sussbier, p. 77); Caxton has both here and hir; Coverdale generally has hir, but her occasionally (Swearingen, p. 37), Skelton (1522) only her; Edw. VI's 1st P. B. (1547) her only; Tottel's Misc. (1557) still has hir as usual form, with occasional her (Hoelper, p. 48), and I have noted the former in Euphwes (1581).

It appears, then, that the introduction of her wasvery gradual, and its exclusive use comparatively late. In the later period, it may have developed from hir by a lowering of i in unstressed

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positions. It is not easy to ascribe the form to any particular dialect area, since it appears in various districts sporadically; quite early in Kent (Wil. of Shoreham), in the S. West, in W. Midl., and in the non-dialectal Pecock, who is supposed by some to represent the Oxford type of literary English. It may be noted that hir was a useful distinctive form for the Fem. Sing., so long as her was in use as the Possess. Pl. With the introduction and general use of their, etc., however, her could be used in the Sing. without ambiguity.

NOTE. Possessive Neuter. The Possess. its is a late development. I have noted no example, even in the colloquial sources, in the sixteenth century. Q. Elizabeth and Lyly, to mention no more, still use his; Shakespeare has the uninflected it as a Possess. On the other hand, Charles Butler (b. c. 1570) includes its in his Engl. Gr. (1634) without any comment, whence we may perhaps conclude that the form was current, at least colloquially, and was no longer regarded as a novelty.

The Possessive Plural of the Third Person.

6312. The displacement of the English forms here, etc., by the Scandinavian peir, etc., was like that of the O.E. Dat. hem, etc., of the Pers. Pron., a slow process in the Midlands and South. The earliest M.E. Northern texts, on the other hand, know only the b., th-forms of the Possessive Pl. In E. Midl., however, Ormulum is the only early M.E. text which has the p-forms, though it still preserves the English forms as well. None of the Sthn. or Kentish texts, very few of the W. Midl., and none of the great fourteenth-century writers, Chaucer, Wycliffe, Mandeville or Gower, have any trace of peir, pair, etc. The London Proclamation of Hen. III (1258) has a Gen. her, and this is also Davie's form. The London documents of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries utilized by Morsbach are the first texts, other than the Northern, and Ormulum, which make any considerable use of the th-forms, and they preserve here, etc., as well. The fifteenth-century Hoccleve and Lydgate use her; but Malory and Caxton have ther, their; the latter also her, hir a few times (Römstedt, p. 41). The later fifteenth-century London Charters have here comparatively rarely; their, etc., is the predominating form, and becomes more and more so with every decade (Lekebusch, p. 110). Henceforth these forms seem practically the only ones, but Nut-brown Maid (c. 1500) has her as well. As late as 1557, Tottel's Misc. has her a few times. Machyn's Diary (1550-53) has her, p. 141.

The following are the chief forms of the 3rd Pers. Possess.

Pl. in the principal dialectal texts:

SOUTHERN.

Lambeth Moral Ancr. Owl & Robt. of Tre-God Ur. St. Ed. Homs. Ode. Riw. Night. Glos. visa. hare, heore heora, heore hore hore. hor. kere hure, heore hare here hurre. hera

KENTISH.

Vesp. A. 22. Kt. Sermons. Shoreham. Azenbite.

hare here, hire hare hare, hire

E. MIDL.

Laud Chron. Orm. Gen. & Ex. Havelok. Robt. of Brunne.

heore, here, heore, here, here, here here, hire pessre hure, peir 573 Robt. of Brunne.

Bokenam.

W. MIDL.

Layamon. Jos. of Ar. Allit. P. W. of Pal. Myrc. Audelay.

heore heore, here her, hor, here hor, hur here
here

NORTHERN.

Cursor. N. Psalter. Metr. Homs. Minot. Bruce.

bair bair thair bairs thair

bar

It seems evident from these statistics that their comes into Literary English through East Midland, from the North.

DECLENSION OF NOUNS

§ 313. Gender. English makes no distinctions of grammatical gender in nouns, but only recognizes the natural distinctions of sex. The confusion of genders which is observable in Early Transition texts (see account, §§ 289-93 above, of forms of article) was partly due to the working of analogy which levelled out distinctions in declensional types, partly to the weakening of vowels in unstressed syllables to -e which took place during the last quarter of the eleventh and the first quarter of the twelfth century, thus wiping out formal distinctions to a very great extent.

§ 314. Case. In Modern English the only case, in Nouns, distinguishable from the Nom., is the Genitive or Possessive. Of this case, only one type, that with the suffix -s, survives and is used both in Sing. and Pl. This suffix is written -'s: dog's tail, king's crown, etc. It should be noticed that although the spelling is fixed, the actual form of the suffix, as pronounced, varies according to the character of the final sound of the Noun. After voiceless consonants the suffix is

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[-s] as in [kæts, fips], etc. After voiced consonants, and vowels, the suffix is [-z] as in [dogz teil, leidiz feis], etc. After the open consonants [z, f, z, s] the suffix is [-iz] in Standard English, but often [-əz] in Provincial and Vulgar English, as

in [hɔsiz hed, fi[iz fin, bridžiz end], etc.

The origin of this suffix is the O.E. -es, a typical Genitive Singular suffix for Masc. and Neuter Nouns: pas cyninges sunu, sweordes ecg 'the King's son, sword's edge'. This suffix in O.E. and Early M.E. was confined to Masc. and Neuter Nouns of the Strong Declensions. It was very early extended to all Genders, and to original Weak Nouns as well: bære eorban sceat ' the bosom of the earth ', becoming first *ber erpen schët and then pe erpes bosme; Mod. Engl. earth's, etc.

In O.E. there were other types of strong declension, both Masc. and Fem. Thus a fairly large class are the so-called ō-stems like giefu 'gift' (fem.), which in the Sing. is declined

as follows:

N. giefu A. giefe G. D. giefe

Another is that of u-stems which include words of all genders. The following is an example:

S.

N. sunu 'son' A. sunu, -a G. suna, etc.

NOTE. We should expect the Possess. of wife, calf to be [waivz, kāvz] instead of the actual [waifs, kāis], which are new formations on analogy of Nom. We still say [kāvzhed] however, and [waivz] survived in seventeenth century, cp. spelling wives in Marston's Eastward Hoe.

The Possessive Singular in M.E.

§ 315. These types, whose cases are not very clearly distinguished, even in O.E., suffer in M.E. the further levelling of their suffixes to -e, so that there is nothing to distinguish one type from another. They are, however, distinguishable from the commonest type, in that they have -e in the Gen. Sing. instead of -es.

Sporadic examples of words with -e in the Gen. Sing. occur

throughout the M.E. period.

The Sth. and Kt. texts have such forms of Gen. Sing. as sune, his uncle deth, in the Masc., and in the Fem. huerte loue 'heart's love', soule fode 'soul's food', senne slepe 'sleep of sin', thovene mouth 'the oven's mouth', oure leuedi soster 'our Lady's sister', etc.

In the E. Midl. Gen. and Ex. has helle night the night of hell', steore name 'star's name', but as a rule the -es suffix is used for Fem. nouns as well as Masc. Cp. also bes cwenes canceler in Laud. Chron. ann. 1123. St. Katherine (W. Midl.) uses -es (-is) in Gen. S. for nouns of all genders-lefdis 'lady's'. etc. Allit. P. generally has -es in Fem. as well as Masc., but

writes honde myst once. In fourteenth-century London documents, Morsbach finds a few cases in which the suffix -es is omitted, or replaced by -e in Fem. words: soule hele 'soul's welfare', seint Katerine day 'St. Katherine's day', oure lady chapell 'our Lady's Chapel', etc. The last is the origin of the Modern Lady Chapel. Chaucer generally has -es for all genders, but omits s occasionally in old Fem. words: herte (also hertes), widwe, cherche, lady, and once in the old Masc. u-stem sune. Caxton has a few survivals like oure lady matins (cp. our Lady mattens, Cavendish, 1577), atte brydge foote, etc. He also often omits -s after words ending in -s-Kinge Menelaus, wyf, sir Patryse dethe, etc. This practice is followed also by Coverdale-Moses wife, righteous sake, and is found later in the Authorized Version.

For the adverbial use of the Gen., see below under Adverbs, \$ 331. (3).

NOTE. The practice of writing -'s with an apostrophe, for the Possess. suffix Sing is unknown in the sixteenth century, and in the first three quarters of the seventeenth century. Mr. Nichol Smith kindly informs me that -'s came in about 1680, and -s' for the Possess. Pl. not till about 1780.

The Plural of Nouns.

§ 316. In Mod. Engl. the only question we need ask concerning the declension of a Noun is, 'How does it form its

Apart from foreign words like seraph-seraphim, stigmastigmata, rhinoceros-rhinoceri (also rhinoceroses), etc., which take Hebrew, Greek, and Latin Plurals respectively, whose use must be confined to the learned, the types of Plural formation in English are very few. They are the following:

A. -s-Plurals: cat-cats, etc.; B. Weak Plurals: oxoxen; C. Mutation Pis.: tooth-teeth, etc.; D. Invariables: sheep, deer; E. Irregular, Double Pls.: children, etc.

§ 317. A. -s-Plurals.

These include nearly all Nouns in the language; indeed, the number of each of the other types is so small that, although they include some very important words, many

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grammarians who deal only with English as it is consider them as 'irregular'.

The -s-suffix varies in pronunciation according to the same conditions which determine the form of the Possessive (§ 308.

above): [kæts, dogz, leidiz, hɔsiz], etc., etc.

There is also a class of words ending in f in the Nom. Sing., which take the suffix [z] and voice the [f] to [v]; e.g. loaf—loaves [louf—loavez, $k\bar{a}f$ — $k\bar{a}vz$], etc. The explanation of this is that in O.E. f, though voiceless finally, was voiced between vowels, so that the forms were $hl\bar{a}f$ — $hl\bar{a}fas$, f in the Pl. being pronounced [v]. In M.E. the Pl. was $l\bar{o}ves$, and later, when the vowel of the suffix was lost, the combination [vs] naturally became [vz]. Thus the v-spelling in Mod. English indicates a phonetic change which took place in O.E.

The OE. forms of the Masc. type are:

	Sing.						Pl.
	hām 'home	3	,	ď			hāmas
	hāmes				***		hāma
D.	hāme					1	kāmum

§ 318. B. Weak Plurals.

The only surviving word of this type in common use in Standard English is ox, Pl. oxen. (Brethren and children will be considered under E, below.)

A few others survive in the Dialects, and a few such as shoon, een, are occasionally found in rather artificial literary

usage.

The Weak Class was originally a very large one. In O.E. it included Masculine, Fem., and Neuter words. Examples are: Masc.—guma 'man', hana'cock', nefa 'nephew', steorra 'star', hunta 'hunter', nama 'name', mōna 'roon', etc., etc.; Fem.—eorde. folde 'earth', heorte 'heart', sunne 'sun', swealwe 'swallow', bēo 'bee', tā 'toe', clife 'cliff', pise 'pea', cwène 'woman'; Neuter—ēage 'eye', ēāre 'ear'.

The O.E. Weak Declensions run as follows:

	Ma	ISC.	F	em.	N	euter.
N. A. G. D.	S. mõna mõnan mõnan mõnan	Pl. mõnan mõnan mõnena mõnum	heorte heortan heortan heortan	Pl. heortan heortan heortena heortum	S. eage eagan eagan eagan	Pl. eagan eagan eagena eagena

In M.E. this form of declension is largely extended in the Sthn. and Kentish texts, so that many originally strong words are included, and we find Pls. like applen, bischopen, sustren,

bruggen 'bridges', dawen 'days', deden 'deeds', heveden 'heads', honden 'hands', wingen 'wings', etc. Original Wk. nouns preserve their ending: churchen, hunten 'hunters', pesen 'peas(e)', herten 'hearts', ton 'toes', even 'eves', etc.

Many Latin and N. Fr. Loan-words also take -en in Pl.: develen, diaknen 'deacons', mylen 'miles', chambren 'cham-

bers', joyen 'joys', etc.

The texts of the Sth. and Kent. are very fond of a Wk. Gen. Pl. in -ene, O.E. -ena, which is used even with words originally strong, and otherwise regarded as such by the Sthn. texts themselves. Thus king, Gen. S. kinges, D. kinge, N. Acc. Pl. kinges, Dat. kingen (O.E. cyn(in)gum), but Gen.

kingene.

The apparent spread of the wk. type in the Sth. may have been due to the analogy of the Dat. Pl., O.E. -um, M.E. -en. The latter would be indistinguishable from the M.E. representative of the O.E. wk. suffix -an. The Gen. Pl. ending -ena was also common in O.E. in the so-called o-stem words (Fem.), which are of course a strong class—e.g. $\dot{g}(i)efu$ 'gift', Gen. Pl. g(i)efena. This suffix, M.E. -ene, occurring here as well as in the regular Wk. declension, could easily be further extended. In the same way the M.E. N. and Acc. Pl. -en occurred already in a large number of words, and the same suffix resulted from every Dat. Pl. in the language. Hence it was natural to use it to express the Pl. generally.

In the Midlands, the use of the -en Pls. was very restricted. Thus in Gen, and Ex, the usual Pl. is -es, but a few -en forms occur, and some are new formations: goren 'spears', O.E. garas; sunen 'sons', weden 'garments', and the old wk. nouns

wunen 'laws', fon 'foes', feren 'companions', etc.

In W. Midl. Allit. P. has yzen 'eyes', trumpen 'trumpets', and the Gen. Pl. besten 'beasts', blonken 'horses', as the only forms of this class. St. Katherine, now generally considered to be W. Midl., confines the use of -en to Fem. nouns. The pre-Chaucerian London writer Davie (1307-27) has the shattered remains of the wk. Pl. in eren, halewen, fon,

honden (Dölle, p. 63).

The fourteenth-century London documents dealt with by Morsbach have an overwhelmingly large proportion of -es Pls., the -en forms being only hosyn 'hose', alle Halwen 'All Hallows' (Schriftspr., p. 114). Chaucer, who has more purely Southern characteristics, has a greatly preponderating number of -es Pls. but also oxen, foon 'foes', pesen, asshen 'ashes', hosen, been (and bees) 'bees', toon 'toes', yen 'eyes', fleen 'flies', sustren, doughtren (and doughtres). Caxton's only

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-en Pls. are shoon 'shoes' (also shois), eyen 'eyes', oxen, hosyn. His usual form of the Pl. ends in -es, or -is (Römstedt). In the fifteenth century Wk. Pls. are not infrequent, e.g. horson 'horses' (Cely P.). Ewen 'ewes' (Northumb. Will 1450), bothen 'booths', Al Haylwyn, Al Sawlyn (Shillingford). Ir the sixteenth century we still find-shone (Wilson, Elyot, Gabr. Harvey), All Sowllen College (letter of Layton 1535). Housen (Bury Wills, Ascham), and so on.

Some of the Mod. Dials. use the Pls. housen, primrosen. Chicken is sometimes felt as a Wk. Pl. and used collectively: to keep chicken. Possibly the form chick is felt to be the Sing.

of this word.

§ 319. C. Mutation Plurals.

A certain number of nouns in O.E., principally Masc. and Fem., have in their N. and Acc. Pl. a change of vowel. This change is always in the nature of fronting, and is due to the original presence of an -i-suffix (cp. §§ 104-9 above, on i-Mutation). The change occurs also in the Dat. Sing. suffix is no longer preserved after long sylls. in O.E., though the results remain. The following are the principal words of this class:

Masculine. fot-fet 'foot', tob-tep 'tooth', mann or monn-menn 'man'; freond-friend 'friend'.

Feminine. hnutu-hnyte 'nut', boc-bec' book', gat-gat 'goat', gos-ges 'goose', mūs-mys 'mouse', lūs-lys 'louse', cū-cy 'cow', burg, or burh-byrig' city'. Neuter. scrūd-scryd' clothing' (cp. Mod. shroud).

These are declined as follows:

	E	Pl	·S.	Pl.
	fotes	fēt fōta	bõc bēč and bõce	bēč bōca
D,	fill	fötum	bēč ·	<i>ģōcum</i>

Rather more than balf of these mutated Pls. are preserved in Mod. Standard English; friend, cow, nut, borough, book, goat, and shroud have, however, succumbed to the influence of the vast class of -s-Pls.

NOTE. The Dative Singular does not directly concern us here, but we may note that the mutated forms hardly survive beyond Early M.E., with the exception of byrig (see § 322 below). I have noted the old Dat. S. of boc twice in the Kt. Gospels, as bæch, boch.

The form fryndes in Morsbach's fourteenth-century London

documents is probably the O.E. friend with the additional -es

suffix (Schriftspr., p. 114).

The mutated Pl. kye, etc., is found in M.E. in Midl. and Nthn. texts, and in W. Midl. Allit. P. kuy (see § 315). It survives as kye [kai] in the Mod. Dial. of the North, Nth. and E. and Central Midlands, and in W. Somers. and Devon (E. D. Gr., § 381).

The form geet, etc., is fairly common, in all dialects down to and during the fourteenth century, by the side of gootes, etc. It is found as late as Caxton with the spelling gheet (C. also uses gootes). Caxton has kyen 'cows', and the Kentish

kēne (Römstedt, p. 38).

On the whole, M.E. and Early Mod. agree with present-day Engl. in the group of words which have mutated Pls.

§ 320. D. Unchanged or Invariable Pis.

In O.E. there is a group of Neuter Nouns which take no suffix in the N. and Acc. Pl. These are words of one syllable which has either a long vowel, or two consonants at the end: deor 'beast', sceap, scep 'sheep', swin 'swine', fyr 'fire', word 'word', bearn 'child'. The short-syllabled words of the same class take -u in the N. and Acc. Pl. This -u is lost after a long syllable in Early O.E., hence the uninflected form of deor, etc.

These invariables survive to some extent in M.E., and while many pass into the common -es Pl. type, there are some additions, some of which are collective nouns, and others

expressive of measure, or number, etc.

Examples: schēp 'sheep', deor 'deer, beast', folc, yeer,

thing, hors (Chaucer), etc.

Caxton uses myle 'mile' in Pl. when preceded by a numeral, also couple, and pound.

The forms yeres, thinges are found by the side of the un-

inflected Pls. *

In present-day English sheep and deer are always invariable, while such phrases as five mile long, two foot high, three stone ten, are common though perhaps rather archaic. The words dozen, couple, score when preceded by a numeral are never inflected. Note also such phrases as a three-year-old, fivepound note.

Swine is now only used collectively—a herd of swine, except colloquially, as a term of abuse. Chaucer still uses swyn as an ordinary Pl. No doubt the analogy of kin 'cows'

may have helped to retain this form.

246 Historical Sketch of English Inflexions [CHAP. IX & 321. E. Irregular Plurals.

In present-day English, the forms children, brethren, and the Provincial or poetical form kine, require some explanation.

Children. In O.E. the word cild (neuter) is generally declined like word (see § 320 above) and has an invariable N. and Acc. Pl. cild, but the form cildru is also found. In M.E. there are two chief types of Pl.: one childre, derived from cildru, found in Orm, and Gen. and Ex. (childere), Allit. P. childer; and the other children, found in the Sth. and Kt., used by Chaucer and Caxton, and in present-day English. This form is of course a double Pl., since the -r- is itself a Pl. suffix, and to this is added the Wk. suffix -en. Coverdale has a Pl. Gen. childers, otherwise children. Edward VI's First Prayer Bk. has both forms of the Pl. in the phrase—childers children (Marriage Service).

Brethren. This shows mutation of the vowel as well as the addition of -en.

In O.E. the usual W.S. Pl. is brößer and brößer, but it is worth noting that the Dat. Sing. is brēßer. Rushworth¹ (Mercian) has N. and A. Pl. bræße, by the side of brößer and brößer, and Lindisfarne (Northumbr.) has also mutated forms. The declension of brößer is remarkable, as it belongs to a small class of words all expressing family relationships: O.E. fæder 'father', mödor 'mother', dohter 'daughter', and sweoster 'sister'. Mödor and dohter have Dat. Sing. mēder, dehter, but no mutation in the Pl. in O.E.

In Early M.E., in the Sth. and Kt. this whole group of words take the Wk. -en-suffix in the Pls: brotheren and bretheren, sustren, modren, douztren, etc.; Gen. and Ex. also has brethere; W. Midl. (Allit. P.), brether, dezter; Chaucer, bretheren, doughtren (and doughtres), sustren. Caxton has brethren, bredern, bretherne, brothern. The association of brößer on the one hand with the mutation Pls. was effected through the Dat. Sing., since most words which had a mutated

Dat. Sing. had also mutation in N. and Acc. Pl.

The association with the -en Pls. could be effected if any one member of the group acquired this suffix. Sustren may well have been the starting-point, as it is the most consistently used form in the Sth. As has been pointed out before, the origin of -en in M.E. need not in all cases have been O.E. -an, but it might arise from a generalization of the M.E. weakening of the Dat. Pl. suffix -um. When once -en arose in the Dat.,

the tendency to extend it to the other cases of the Pl. would be very strong, owing to the large group of words which

already had the suffix from another source.

Apart from the group of relationship words which were associated by meaning, there were several other words-old neuters, like cildru, which had -ru in the Pl. in O.E., and in M.E. -re, and -ren. When once bretheren and the rest were established, it would be natural to regard -ren as a Pl. suffix and to extend it to the words which normally had -re. These were, among others: O.E. $\bar{x}\dot{g}$ 'egg', Pl. $\tilde{x}\dot{g}$ ru, M.E. $\tilde{\epsilon}i$, Pl. $\tilde{\epsilon}i$ re(n); O.E. lamb—lambru, M.E. lambre, lambren; O.E. calf' calf'-calfru, M.E. calfre and calvren. Here again the Dat. Pl. children, eiren, calfren helped in the process. In this way, a considerable group of Pls. in -ren was formed.

Kine. This form is of course another example of a double Pl., showing mutation: O.E. cy, etc., + the weak -n suffix. The three types kuyn, kīn, kēn are all found fairly frequently in M.E. Chaucer has kin, Caxton kyen and kene. The kintype may have been assured permanence by a natural association with the collective swīn, which was invariable (§ 314). In Standard and Literary English, kine is archaic, and poetical. In the Mod. Dials, it is used in the W. of Scotland, the Nth. of England, Kt., and Devon (E. D. Gr., § 383).

Other dialectal double Pls. of the same kind are [gizn,

mīzn, fītn].

§ 322. Survivals of old Datives in English.

Meadow is an old Dat., O.E. madwe, madewe, etc., from Nom. Fem. mæd. This word, and Leasowe (Chesh. Pl. N.), leasow (Mod. Dial.) 'meadow' from O.E. læs, Dat. læswe, belonged to the so-called -wō-stems, a group of Fem. words which originally took the suffix -wo- after the 'root'. In the O.E. Nom. all trace of this has disappeared in long-syllabled words, but the w survives in the oblique cases.

In M.E. the forms medwe, medoue, leseo, lesoue, etc., occur, generally used indifferently as Nom. or oblique case. The forms mead and lease are descended from the Old Nominatives.

Bury in Pl. Ns. is from the O.E. Dat. Sing. byrig from Nom. burh. The usual pronunciation at present, when the element is stressed, is [beri] representing O.E. (Kentish) berig, but the spelling represents a M.E. type pronounced [y]. The word borough is descended from the old Nom. buruh, with a parasitic u in the second syllable.

THE ADJECTIVES

Declension.

§ 323. Old English.

The Adjective in O.E. has two modes of declension-the Strong and the Weak, which correspond, on the whole, to the Strong and Weak Declensions of Nouns. Nearly all adjectives can be declined in both ways. The Strong Declension is used when adjectives occur predicatively, or attributively, without the Definite Article. The Weak Declension of Adjectives is used after the Definite Article.

O.E. adjectives distinguish Gender, and Number.

	STR	ONG DECLE			WEAK	DECL	ENSION.
		Singular.		6.7 0	6.	Singular	r.
2.0	M.	F.	N.		M.	F.	
N.	gōd	god, blacu	gðd	N.	god-a	god-e	god-e
	god-ne	gode		A.	gōd-an		_
	göd-es	god-re		G.	_	-	göd-an
	göd-um göds	godre	göde göde	D.	-		_
		PL		,		M.F.	N. Pl.
N. A.		gōd-e	god, blacu		N	. goda	
	_	gōd-ra	_			. god-	
D.	-	göd-um				. god-	

NOTE. The forms of black' have been given in the two cases, N. Fem. S. and N. A. Fem. Pl., in which short-syllabled words retain the

suffix -u, lost after long monosyllables.

The cases which differ in their suffix from those of nouns are: Sing. Acc. M., Dat. M.; G. and D. Fem.; Dat. Neuter; in the Pl.-N. and A. Masc., G. of all Genders. The suffixes -ne, -ra, -re are formed on the analogy of the Pronouns: hi-ne, hi-ra, hi-re, hi-e.

324. M.E. Adjectives.

The declension of Adjectives undergoes considerable modifications in M.E. by the natural process of levelling all the vowels of the endings under -e.

Further, since -an and -um are both levelled under -en, it is impossible to tell which suffix it represents; e.g. to pe guoden

to the good ', Dat. Pl., Azenb., p. 72.

The Early Transition texts of the South preserve some of the strong adjectival endings, and distinguish to some extent

between Strong and Weak endings.

Thus Holy Rd. Tree has D. Sing. Fem. ludre, dinre, but often drops the r of the suffix; an Acc. Masc. mucelne; whereas the Dat. Pl. still preserves -um occasionally, by the side of -on, -an, -a, -e. The Weak forms often drop the -n, and a strong Gen. Pl. haligræ occurs where we should expect -ena. (See on this text Napier's admirable Introduction, p. liv.)

The Weak suffix -en is disappearing from the language. perhaps by weakening and losing the -n, so that it is indistinguishable from the Strong ending -e. At any rate the -en suffix appears not to survive the close of the twelfth century,

except in Adj. used as Nouns.

The Strong endings remain, here and there, considerably later. Godne is found in Lazamon, 1388; alnewan in Azenbite; A. R. (Morton's text) has godere, Dat. Sing., p. 428, and to godre heale, p. 194. Orm has allre nest, 1054. Chaucer still has a few Gen. Pls. in -r in his poetry-youre aller cost, oure aller cok, and the fossils alderbest, alderwers (ten Brink, Chaucers Spr., § 255). A belated allermast occurs in St. Editha.

For the Central M.E. period the ordinary suffix for attributive Adj., used without distinction of Gender, Number, and Case, is -e; cp. Chaucer's 'smale foules maken melodie'. This -e remains in poetry until, together with all other unstressed -e's, it is lost towards the close of the fifteenth century. It is often omitted in prose much earlier, especially after long vowels. It was probably archaic and disused in the spoken language considerably earlier.

§ 325. French Adjectives in M.E.

French Pls. in -s occur in Chaucer oftener in his prose than in his verse (ten Brink, Chaucers Spr., § 243). These forms occur chiefly when the Adjective is used attributively and stands after the Noun: places delitables, weyes espirituels, goodes temporeles. But -s is found also when the Adj. precedes the Noun: in the sovereyns devynes substaunces; and occasionally when the Adj. is used predicatively: romances that ben royales (rhymes with tales), Sir Thopas, 137. These Pls. are fairly common in the fifteenth century and even occur in the sixteenth, e.g. most demures and wise sustris (c. 1450), nobles lettres (1458), letters patents (Lord Berners); clirrists days (Q. Eliz. Transl.).

§ 326. Comparison of Adjectives.

In O.E. the ordinary suffixes of Comparison are-Comp. -ra; Superl. -ost, more rarely -ast, -ust, and still more rarely There were in Gmc. two types of suffix: -oza, -ost,; -iza, -ist-. The latter occur in O.E. only in a few words, which are known by having i-mutation in the Comp. and Superl.

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It is not otherwise possible to distinguish the two types in O.E., as -ost, -est, etc., may occur in the same word without mutation.

Examples of unmutated type:

heard-heardra, heardost fæger-fægerra, fægrost

This is the normal type, and in M.E. occurs as hardre, hardest.

§ 327. Examples of type with i-mutation.

There are comparatively few of these:

eald 'old' W.S. ieldra ieldest non-W.S. eldra eldest great W.S. grietra gingest gingra, Reong Merc. gungra gungest long lengest strong strengest brād brædra (generally brad-) heak W.S. hierra W.S. kiekst non-W.S. harra non-W.S. hehst

Comparatives are inflected weak, Superlatives nearly always weak, except in forms ending in -ost, -est (N. A. V. Neut.).

Note. In O.E. the Comp. either takes ponne 'than' after it, with the thing compared in the same case as that of the thing with which it is compared: Se was betern ponne ic (Beow. 469), or omits ponne, and takes the Dat. of thing compared; ne ongeat he no hiene selfne bettran võrum gödum monnum, Cura Past., p. 114. 23, cit. Wülfing, Syntax, p. 75.

In M.E. more of the mutated forms survive than in the Mod. period. Chaucer has strenger—strengest, lenger—lengest. At the present day we retain only elder—eldest, and these with a specialized meaning, defining usually the place or order in a family: the elder of the two brothers, the eldest son. Eldest was still used with the old force in seventeenth century. Elder as an ordinary comp. of old occurs in Euphues England, Arber's Reprint, p. 258. Strenger, lenger, are used by Sir T. Elyot (1531).

Note. The Comp. of great is generally gretter, gretter in M.E. (Chaucer, Caxton), with vowel shortening. Shakespeare rhymes gretter—better (Vietor, Shakesp. 167). On the possible influence of this Comp. on the form [great], see § 232, Note.

§ 328. Irregular Comparison.

Certain words form their Comp. and Superl. from a base other than that of the Positive.

		O.E.		M.I	E. (Chaucer).
'good'	gōd	betera	betst	good	bettre	best
'bad'	yfel	wyrsa	wyrsta	evil	badder	werst
big'	myčel	māra	mäest	muchel)	mõre	moost
'little'	Tytel	läessa	læst	litel	lässe	leest

No comment is required on these words, as we have retained the irregularities. We generally use smaller, smallest, as the Comp. and Superl. of little. Less and least are generally adverbs at the present time, and we usually employ a Comp. lesser adjectivally.

§ 329. Certain Adjectives derived from Adverbs and Prepositions are used with Comp. and Superl. forms in O.E.

'far'	feor	fierra ferra	fierrest ferrest
'near'	nedh	nearra	niehsta nēhsta
'earlier, former'	fore	žerra furdra	gerrest fyrrest 'first'

Far represents O.E. feor, M.E. fer, far. Chaucer's ferre is the Comp. of this and represents the above O.E. form. We now use further or farther for this, the former being really the Comp. formed from O.E. forð, used, as we see above, as Comp. of fore. Farther is on the analogy of further, but owes its vowel to far.

Near is an old Comp. of neah, and is derived from O.E. nearra; it is still used, in the form neer, as a Comp. in Chaucer. We now feel near as a Positive, and have formed new Comp. and Superl. with -er, est. The real historical Positive is nigh, corresponding to, though not identical with Chaucer's ney, from O.E. neh (cp. § 171 (3 b) for Mod. [nai]). Our word next, the old Superl., is quite isolated from nigh, near in form and meaning.

Erst. This is the old Superl. of zr, represented by our ere (Adv.). Erst is obsolete except in deliberate literary usage.

First. Now and in O.E. used as an Ordinal. The base is *fur-, of which it is a normal Superl. with *-ist. From the 252 Historical Sketch of English Inflexions [CHAP. 13

same base is O.E. fore, earlier *fura-. The O.E. comp. furðra is from base forð-.

§ 330. Superlatives in -most.

The words foremost, utmost, inmost, etc., require some explanation. There is an old superlative suffix -ma which survives in O.E. in for-ma 'first' (cp. Lat. pri-mus) and other words indicating for the most part position or direction.

Forma means literally 'most forward'.

In O.E. already a form fyrmest existed, which is a double superlative, having both suffixes, -m-+-ist. A large number of other words with the double formation exist in O.E., e. g. sidemest 'last', lætemest 'last, latest', innemest 'inmost', nord-mest, etc. The suffix -mest was identified with O.E. mæst, māst 'most', and forms with -mæst, rarely -māst, are found. In M.E. this latter normally became -mōst, the association with mōst preventing shortening. To all appearances, therefore, we get superlatives with mōst used as a suffix, though historically they are nothing of the kind.

The old superlative (used as an Ordinal in O.E.) forma, where no longer felt as such, received the normal Comp. suffix -er and appears as former, while fyrmest was altered to foremost, the first syllable being associated with former, the

second with most, as we have seen.

Utmost stands for E. M.E. ūtmōst, with shortening of ūt- to ŭt- before -m-. Outmost is a new formation on the same model, from out.

Other new formations of the kind are topmost, hindmost.

Uppermost, uttermost, outermost have the supposed superlative suffix added to a Comp. ending -er. The O.E. Comp. of ūt was ȳterra, and ūterra. The latter becomes utter (§ 176).

ADVERBS

- § 331. There are three main ways of forming Adverbs in O.E.
- (1) By the suffix -e added to Adjectives: widely', sode 'truly'.
- (2) By the addition of an adverbial suffix—(a) -līce 'like'= Mod. -ly: sōðlīce, frēondlīce 'friendly wise'; or (b) -unga, -inga: ierringa 'angrily', eallunga 'altogether'; or (c) -lunga, -linga: grundlunga, -linga 'from the foundations'; (d) -mælum: styccemælum 'piecemeal'; (e) -rādum: floccrādum 'in troops', etc.

(3) By the addition of the Genitive or Dative case ending to an adj. or noun: ealles 'completely', dæges 'by day', and by association with this, nihtes 'by night', dearnum 'secretly', micclum 'much, very'.

§ 332. The Adverbs in -e are very common in O.E. and equally so in M.E.; cp. Chaucer's Wel coude he sitte on hors and faire ryde. With the disappearance of unstressed -e in the fifteenth century these adverbs become indistinguishable from adjectives, e.g. to run fast, to sleep sound, to work hard, etc., etc.

The -linga type survives in a few more or less obsolete words-darkling, and formerly noseling 'on the nose', flatling 'with the flat of the sword', and others were used; lunga survives in headlong, sidelong. Piecemeal has already figured above. Old Dat. Pls. survive in seldom, and the archaic

auhilom:

Genitives occur in needs 'he must needs do it', now-a-days (=nū on dæġe) with an -s suffix as well as the old preposition, and similarly o' nights (=on nihte), always, once, etc., etc. Twice and thrice are M.E. formations-twies, pries on the analogy of ones. The O.E. forms are twiwa, driwa.

Once = O.E. anes (see § 240, Note (2) for explanation of [wans]). Chaucer has the phrase for the nones 'for the nonce' - for den ones, where the adverbial ones is used as a noun.

VERBS

§ 333. The inflexions of verbs in English express distinc-

tions of Person, Tense, and Mood.

The inflexione of Person are chiefly confined to the Pres. Indic. and the and P. Past Sing., there being no distinction made between the persons of the Pl.

The Tense endings distinguish between the Present, used also in a Future sense, the Preterite, or Past Tense. The Indic. and Subj. Moods are distinguished by different personal

endings.

The most important formal distinction of verbs into classes is that made according to the mode of forming the Past Tense

and Past Participle.

Those verbs which, like Mod. Engl. follow-followed, laugh -laughed, weld-welded, form their Past by the addition of the suffix -ed [d, t, id] are known as Weak, and those which, like ride-rode, sing-sang, express the difference between Past and Present by a change in the vowel, without the addition of a suffix, as *Strong* verbs. This vowel change is known as *Gradation*. Its origins lie in the remote past, before English, or even Primitive Germanic, in the Aryan period.

The history of the forms of English verbs is partly merely that of ordinary sound change, as in O.E. writan, Pret. wrāt, Present-day write—wrote, which is covered by the general statement that O.E. [i, ā] become Modern [ai, ou]. On the other hand, the principle of Analogy has fashioned the forms of Modern English Strong verbs, in some cases, to a degree which is probably in excess of its influence in other parts of speech, though, as we have seen, Analogy has indeed been active among the Pronouns and Nouns.

§ 334. Personal and other endings in O.E. Verbs (cp. Sievers, ae. Gr., § 352 and following sections).

	PRESEN	NT TENSE.	
Indicative.		bjunctive.	Imperative.
Sing. Pl.		Pl.	
I	I.)		2. Sing; -e
$ \begin{array}{ccc} 1. & -e \\ 2. & -(e)st \\ 3. & -(e)b \end{array} \begin{array}{c} -a \\ \end{array} $	3. 3. 3.	-en, -on, -an	I. Plan
3(e)/	3.)		2. Plap
In	articiple.		
	-an		-ende
	PRE	TERITE.	
Ind	icative.	Sui	bjunctive.
Sing.	Pl.	Sing.	Pl.
Strong. Weak.	Strong.	Weak. Str. & Wk.	Str. & Wk.
I			
2e -est	-un, -on, -an	-on -e	-en, (on, an, wk.)
3. —	Deam D.		
Stron	PAST PA	RTICIPLE. We	. 1.
		4 1	
-¢i	*	~ed,	-od

NOTE I. In W.S. texts syncope of the vowel usually takes place in the endings of the 2nd and 3rd pers. Sing. This produces the various combinations of consonants with -st and -b, and certain changes in the consonants result: winst, winh from winnist, winnip; bitst for *bidst from *bidist; bit for *bith from *bidih ; grēt for grēth for *grētih; biest for biest for

NOTE 2. Already in O.E. the 3rd Sing. Pres. Indic. appears as -es in Nthmb., by the side of -ep, and the Pl. as -as by the side of older -æp. The other dialects preserve the old endings. These early Nth. forms are important in the light of later developments.

NOTE 3. When the order of pronoun and verb is inverted, as often happens in O.E., instead of the endings -ab, or -on in the Pl., the ending is -e: Pres. we bindap, but binde we; Pret. we bunden, but bunde we.

VERBAL INFLEXIONAL ENDINGS IN M.E.

§ 335. Present Indicative.

The main features are preserved, allowing for the loss of distinction between -ap, -ep, -on, -an, -en which arises from the

levelling of these under -ep, -en.

There arise, however, certain characteristic modes of distribution of the endings of the Pres. Indic. in the various dialects. On the whole, these are as follows:

Sthn. & Kt. E. Midl. W. Midl. E. Midl. W. Midl. Nth.

Sing. Pl. Sing. Sing. Pl. Pl. Sing. Pl.

1. -e
2. -est
3. -ep
3. -ep, es
-ep, es
-es, -est
-ep, es
-es, -es
-es, -is

Taken together with other features, and allowing for variety of usage within a given dialect group, the forms of the 2nd and 3rd Pers. Sing., and those of the Pl., are useful tests of dialect.

The Present Indicative. A. The Singular.

The Southern dialects generally retain the old endings in the Sing. The E. Midl. on the whole agrees with this, but the N.E. Midl. (Rob. of Brunne, 1303) by the side of the usual -ep in 3rd Sing. has also -s, especially in rhymes, e.g.:

pe holy man tellep vs and seys bat he lose made euen peys.

The W. Midl., owing no doubt to Nthn. influence, frequently has -s in 2nd and 3rd. In the Nth. -s is universal in 2nd and 3rd Sing.

NOTE. Wil. of Pal. has -es, -us and -eh, -uh in 3rd S. about equally (Schüddekopf, p. 74). The late Audelay has -is, -ys, -s most frequently, but also a fair number of examples of -eth, -yth, -uth (Rasmussen, p. 82).

In the London Dialect and Literary English, the -s type gained ground but slowly. The earliest London documents to first quarter of fourteenth century have only -ep (Dölle, p. 72); the later fourteenth-century documents have only -ip, -ith, -ep, -eth, except for one Nth. -s form (Morsbach, Schriftspr., pp. 134, 136, 137); Chaucer with one exception in rhyme, telles—elles, has only -eth, -ith, in Verse and in Prose (ten Brink, § 185; Frieshammer, p. 95); the fifteenth-century London Charters, etc., have an enormous preponderance of -ith-forms, but about three examples of -es (Lekebusch, pp. 121 and 123); other official London documents of

late fifteenth century have also a sprinkling of -s- forms.

Caxton has only -eth, or -ith (Römstedt, p. 45).

The Oxford writers, Wycliffe and Pecock, employ only -th, but Lydgate has frequent -es forms, while Capgrave has only one (Dibelius, Anglia, xxiv, p. 247). The -es forms certainly become more frequent both in prose and verse during the sixteenth century, though until the third quarter of the century the -eth, -ith, forms greatly predominate in both the formal and the familiar prose styles. The poets Wyatt, Surrey, Sackville use frequent -s- forms, but an examination of the instances appears to show that they occur instead of the -th type chiefly in the interests of rhyme or of metre. It has been suggested by Hoelper (on Tottel's Misc.) p. 54, that the -s forms were first made current by the usage of the poets, and that they passed from poetry into prose, and thence into the colloquial forms of standard English. This does not seem to be supported by the evidence. The poets practically only employ these forms when they are obliged, while, with a few exceptions, such as Latimer and Ascham, writers of elevated prose hardly use them at all before the end of the sixteenth century. The -es endings are found chiefly in more or less colloquial private letters; Machyn, the last person to be influenced by literary usage of any kind, uses them in his Diary, in the rare instances where he uses the third Sing. Pres. at all. Such stately prose as that of the first and second Prayer Books knows only -th, and the same is true of the much later Authorized Version of the Bible. We must regard -es as definitely colloquial in origin. (See full discussion of this, and the other question of the dialectal origin of these forms, in my Hist. Coll. Engl., pp. 332-37.) The ending -es in the third S. Pres. has usually been regarded as of Nthn, origin in literary and standard spoken Engl. Since direct Nthn. influence upon the dialect of London is out of the question, we must suppose that it was exerted, if at all, indirectly through the E. Midl. But the documents written in Lines., Norf., and Suffolk, in the fifteenth century, that is just when the es, ys forms begin to make a sporadic appearance in London documents, hardly show a greater number of these forms than do the latter, Bokenam, for instance, having hardly any at all. The ending -eth, -yth, predominates in E. Midl. as in London itself. On the other hand, the Wilts. text, S. Editha (c. 1420), actually has a few -s forms, and it would surely be fantastic to suppose that Nthn. influence could have been exerted here! Holmquist (see Bibliography E.) appears to wish to derive the forms from Leicestershire (see p. 145 of his book), but even supposing it to

be established that -s was the characteristic form of Leics., it is difficult to see that the solution of the problem how -s got into London Engl. is helped thereby. How could a feature of the Leics, dialect pass into the colloquial speech of London? On the whole it seems probable that the -es form has nothing whatever to do with the Nthn. dialect, but has been developed quite independently in the South through the influence of, and by analogy with, the common Auxiliary is.

The Present Indicative. B. The Plural.

The Sthn. dialects preserve the O.E. -ab, in the weakened form -ep. While the typical Midland ending is -en, from the Subj., later weakened to -e, W. Midl. texts, by the side of this ending, and the typical -un, very frequently use the Nthn. -s (-es, -us). Nthn. dialects have regularly -s, which as we saw

in § 334, Note 2, is found already in O. Northumb.

It is interesting to observe the encroachment of the Midl. type in the London dialect, and the gradual elimination of the Sthn. -ep form. The earliest Charters have -ap, -ep, but Henry III's Procl. (1258), while still retaining -ep in habbep, beop, shows already a preponderance of the Midl. -en forms: willen, hoaten, senden, beon (twice). Davie (1327) has only one example of -ep. In Morsbach's fourteenth-century documents, Sthn. -eth still lingers occasionally, but Midl. -en or -e are very much commoner (Schriftspr., pp. 134, 136, 137); Chaucer's Prose has -en oftener than -e. In rhymes, -e is nearly universal, en rare. Frieshammer (p. 96) mentions only four examples of -th Pls. Pecock and Caxton have -en. The late London Charters, etc., have most often -en, or, after a vowel, -n; by the side of this, but considerably less often, -e; -eth is found rather more than twenty times, and once -ith; -es occurs twice. A certain number of forms without any ending are used, but these are not very frequent (Lekebusch, p. 124).

Shakespeare has 'and waxen in their mirth' (cit. Morris's Hist. Outlines, ed. Kellner-Bradley, p. 257), where the suffix is obviously used for the sake of the metre. Ben Jonson, writing 1640, says that the suffix -en was used in the Pl. 'till about the reign of Henry VIII', but adds that 'now it hath quite grown out of use (cit. Kellner-Bradley, p. 257, footnote). Pres. Pls. in -en, -in occur occasionally in the sixteenth century: bin, St. Papers of Henry VIII (1515); ben, Surrey, Eneid Bk. ii. 735; you that blamen, Wyatt, Tottel 37; they loaden, Euphues, p. 144; and as late as 1695 we sayn

in Congreve's Love for Love, Act III, Sc. VI.

0

§ 335]

§ 336. The Preterite.

In O.E., whereas the 2nd Person Sing. of Weak Verbs had the suffix -est, like the Present, Strong Vbs., on the other hand, had only -e in this Pers. The vowel of the base is different from that of the 1st and 3rd Pers. in O.E. and M.E. So long as this distinction was preserved by the Strong Vbs. the ending remains unchanged, but later, when the vowel of the 2nd Pers. is levelled under that of the other Sing. forms, this Pers. takes -est on the analogy of the Present.

Chaucer preserves the old distinction of vowel in the 2nd Sing. Pret. only in verbs of the sing, find-type, and not always here. He often has such forms as thou founde. He also has forms without -est in vbs. whose vowel in 2nd Pret. has been levelled under that of 1st and 2nd Pers.—thou drank. On the other hand, forms like begonnest are also found (ten Brink.

\$ 193).

Caxton habitually inflects the 2nd Pret. Sing. with -est, -ist, both in Wk. and Strong Vbs., but exceptionally has thou took, had, fond, gate, sawe, knewe (Römstedt, p. 37; Price, p. 188). In Wycliffe, Bokenam, Pecock, and Capgrave, the -est forms greatly predominate, though the old forms are also found (Dibelius, Anglia, xxiv, p. 256). Price, p. 188, gives examples of the uninflected forms from Shakespeare and Heywood.

§ 337. The Present Participle in M.E. and afterwards.

In a general way, the form of the Pres. Part. is a useful indication of dialect in M.E., but it must not be relied upon absolutely, without considering the other dialectal features of a text. The Sthn. and Kentish texts have -inde, the Midland generally -ende, and the Nthn. always -and. The more Northerly portions of E. Midl. dialect, however, e.g. as seen in R. of Brunne (Lincolnshire), have -and after the Nthn. use, and the Sthn. Midl. has -inde according to the Sthn. dialect. The West Midl. texts have very commonly -and, except Jos. of Ar., which has habitually -inde.

By the side of these forms, a new type of Pres. Part. comes into use, first in the Sth. during the M.E. period, one in -inge. The origin of this is uncertain. It is first used in the Sth.,

and is the ancestor of the Present-day form.

Kellner-Bradley, p. 263, mentions ridinge in Lazamon, used in the same sentence with the older and more usual goinde. Handlyng Synne has already a fair number of forms in -yng, but otherwise the Nthn. type -and, especially in rhymes. The Sthn. Trevisa, according to Morris, Introd. to Azenbite,

p. lxiv, has always -inge, -ing, never -inde. The Kentish Azenbite has only -inde, -ynde. In W. Midl., Earliest Engl. Pr. Ps. has generally -and, but also in keping hem; Jos. of Ar. several forms in -inge, by the side of -inde; Allit. P. -ande; Wil. of Pal. -and thirteen times, Midl. -end twelve, and -ing ten times (Schüddekopf, p. 75); Audelay has almost exclusively -ing, twice -and in rhyme, and once -and in the middle of a line (Rasmussen, p. 82).

The earliest London documents have -inde in Procl., but Davie only -ing (Dölle, p. 73); Chaucer's Prose -ing(e), rarely -enge (Frieshammer, p. 97); Morsbach's Charters, etc., only -yng(e) (Schriftspr., pp. 175, etc.); the later Charters have

only -yng, -ing, or -eng (Lekebusch, pp. 122, 123, 125).

It is worth noting that Chaucer's contemporary Gower very rarely uses the -ing(e) form, but almost invariably -ende, with the accent upon this suffix (Macaulay's Introd. to the small ed. Conf. Amant., p. xliv). Mylkand Kyne occurs in Paston Letters in 1450, i, p. 98.

THE WEAK VERBS

§ 338. It should be noted that the distinguishing feature of a weak verb is that it has the ending -ed, -t in the Past Tense. Some weak verbs show a change of vowel, as teach taught, O.E. tacan-tahte, where one form has i-mutation, and the other has not (§ 106); others show a change of vowel due to gradation, bring-brought.

Classes of Weak Verbs.

There are originally three classes of Weak Verbs:

(1) Those in cr*jan which have i-mutation whenever the

original vowel is a back.

(a) When the original vowel of the base is short, the following consonant, other than r, is doubled in the Inf., in all forms of the Present except the 2nd and 3rd Pers. Sing. and the 2nd Imperat.

Examples:

23.ttati-proo		P.P.	
Inf.	Pret.		from *nazjan, etc.
nerian 'save' temman 'tame' cnyssan 'strike'	nerede temede cnyssede	(ġe)-nered (ġe)-temed (ġe)-cnyssed (ġe)-seted	from *lammjan from *knussjan from *sattjan
eatton cot	selle	(80) 4000	

(b) When the vowel or syllable of the base is long, no doubling of the consonant takes place. The Pret, ending is

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usually -de, earlier -ida, the -i- having been syncopated, except after -r, and often l.

Examples:

Inf.	Pret.	P.P.	
dëman 'judge'	dëmde	(ge)-dēmed	from *dōmjan
frëfran 'comfort'	frëfrede	(ge)-frēfred	from *frōfrjan
dëslan 'divide'	dëdde	(ge)-dæled	from *ddijan
(W.S.) htëran 'hear'	hierde	(ge)-hvēred	from *kēārjan

(2) -ōjan Verbs. This suffix appears in O.E. as -ian, having passed through -ējan, -Ijan, and then being shortened to -ian. The bases of these verbs have no mutation. The Pres. Indic. Sing. normally runs lōcigs, lōcast, lōcap. The Pret. ends in -ode, and the P.P. in od.

Examples:

Inf.	Pret.	P.P.	
löcian	lõcode	(ge)-lōcod	from *lōkōjan
hälgian	hälgode	(ge)-hālgod	from *hāl(a)gōjan
pancian 'thank'	pancode	(ge)-pancod	from *pankōjan
wilnian 'desire'	wilnode	(ge)-wilnod	from *wilnōjan

(3) So-called -e- Verbs.

These verbs, whose formation offers some difficulties, are those in which the suffix -ja- interchanges with Gmc. -ai-, or $-\bar{x}$ - in the various forms. The Inf. and Pres. Indic. 1st Pers. Sing. and the Pres. Indic. Pl. have doubling of the consonant, and j-mutation of preceding vowel in these forms; the suffix of the Pret. is added to the base directly, without any intervening vowel.

Examples:

r,	Inf. hæbban have hæbbe	Pret.	P.P. (ġe)-hæfd
2nd	hafast hæfst		
3rd PL	hafab hafab habbab		
Ist 2nd 3rd Pl.	libban (lifian) libbe (lifige) leofast (liofast) leofaþ (liofaþ) libban (leofaþ, liofaþ)	lifde (also leofode like -δjan vb	.) ģelifd
Ist 2nd 3rd Pl.	secgan 'tell, say' sagast (sægst W.S.) sagaþ (sægþ W.S.)	szegde -	(ge)-sægd
E go	secg(e)ap	A.	

NOTE 1. The difference between temman from *tammjan and temede from *tamida is due to the interchange of -ja- and -i- in the suffix. Before -j- a consonant is doubled, but not before -i-.

NOTE 2. In dælan from *dāljan the double consonant has been simplified after a long vowel.

NOTE 3. The bb in habban is from *-bj-. The se in this form and in habbe is the j-mutation of a. *Habjan<*habbjan, which would become *hebban. Habban is a new formation *habbjan, on the analogy of *hab-as, *habab 2nd and 3rd Pers. Sing. Cp. also § 107 Note.

Irregular Weak Verbs.

§ 339. There is a certain number of verbs which have -jain the Inf. and Pres. (all except bringan), but which have often
lost the -i- of the stem, before the suffix -de in the Pret. and
P.P. Many of these survive to the present time. The combination of the Pret. suffix with the final consonant of the
base often brings about considerable changes in the latter.

Inf. sellan 'give, sell' tellan 'tell, count'	Pret. sealde (Angl. salde) tealde (Angl. talde)	P.P. geseald (Angl. sāld) geteald (Angl. tāld)
settan 'set, place' leċġ(e)an 'lay' byċġan 'buy'	sette leģde bohte	geset(t) gelegd geboht gereaht
reĉĉ(e)an 'narrate' streĉĉ(e)an 'stretch' peĉĉ(e)an 'cover' læĉ(e)an 'seize'	reahte streahte peahte lähte	gestreaht gebeaht geläht
ræć(e)an 'reach'	rähte rähte tähte	geræht getæht, getaht
reic(e)an 'reck' sēć(e)an 'seek' penc(e)an 'think' pync(e)an 'seem' wyrc(e)an 'work'	rõhte sõhte þõhte þühte worhte	gesökt geþökt gepüht geworht gebrökt
bringan	bı öhle	

NOTES 1. sellan, tellan have mutation of x (§ 107), but Fracture of x in Pret. (§ 102). The Sthn. and Kt. representative of sealde in M.E. is selde. solde and Mod. sold are from Anglian salde (§§ 126, 164, 165).

2. sette is from *satda, *satta, and owes its e to the Pres. and Inf.; legde is also an analogous form.

3. bycgan is from *bug-jan (§ 109); bohte from *bux-ta, with change of u to o before a in next syllable.

4. reccan—realte and all the verbs which have cc or c in Inf. and Pres. and -ht- in Pret. illustrate the Gmc. and O.E. change of kt to ht: *rakjan and -ht- in Pret. illustrate the Gmc. and O.E. change of kt to ht: *rakjan as -ht- in Pret. illustrate the Gmc. and O.E. change of kt to ht: *rakjan as -ht- in Pret. illustrate the Gmc. and O.E. change of kt to ht: *rakjan as well as streahte, /eahte, has Fracture (§ 102).

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- 5. The normal Prets. of tictan, rictan, are tahte, rahte, from *taikta, etc. There is nothing to cause mutation here, and the by-forms tichte, richte owe their vowel to the analogy of the Pres. and Inf.
- 6. On the changes in sæan, pentan, pyntan, wyrtan and their Prets., cp. §§ 105, 109 and Note, 108, 113.
- 7. bringan—brokte shows a gradational change *bring---*brange, comparable to sing—sang, but *brange-instead of *brange-is rather a puzzle. We must assume a primitive *brange-, otherwise the suffix -te in O.F., and in O.H.G. brakta, cannot be accounted for. Perhaps the analogy of *pange-ta (O.E. pokte) may have produced brange-ta, or again the existence of the pairs *fange--finge-, *hange--*hange-(cp. § 98) may have helped to form *brange-base the side of *bra je. The latter survives in O.E. brengan from *brange-jan.

Weak Verbs in M.E.

§ 340. The points to be considered are the treatment of the

Inf., the Pret., and the Past Part.

In the Nth. and Midlands the -jan vbs. with long first sylls., and the -an class, are practically both levelled under one class, in -e(n). Thus O.E. $d\bar{e}man-d\bar{e}mde$ becomes $d\bar{e}me(n)-d\bar{e}mde$,

just like have(n)—havde or hadde.

The - δjan class, on the other hand, while losing, except in the Sth. and Kent, the -i- in Inf., and Pres. Indic. 1st S., retains the vowel e before the ending of the Pret. Thus O.E. $l\bar{\delta}cian$ — $l\bar{\delta}code$ becomes $l\bar{\delta}ke(n)$ — $l\bar{\delta}ked(e)$. The -jan vbs. with short first sylls., whether of the O.E. werian or temman type, appear in M.E. as $w\bar{e}re(n)$, temme(n) respectively, but retain the -e- before the -de in Pret.— $w\bar{e}red(e)$, temed(e), being thus levelled under the $l\bar{\delta}cian$ type, since -ode, -ede both appear as -ed(e) in M.E.

Thus from the point of view of the Pret. there are two classes, one which has the suffix -de or -te added to the base direct, and the other which has -e- between the base and the -de suffix. The Inf. and Pres. Indic., however, show only

one type: haue, loke, make, were, here, deme, etc.

§ 341. A further confusion involving the Pret. also arises in later M.E. Forms like axede, werede, wunede, luvede lose the final -e and appear as wered, luved, axed, etc., though often written full, the loss being proved by the metre in poetry. This gives two types of Pret.—dēmde, hērde, but luved, axed, etc. Now a cross analogy works between the two types, so that we get dēmed on the analogy of luved, but also luvede on the analogy of dēmde. The result is that poets often use both forms of Pret. for the same word, luved(e) or luve(e)de, cry(e)de or cryed(e), clēped or clepte, etc., etc. In

a general way, however, one or other of these forms must be used—either clēped with loss of final -e, or clepte with loss of medial -e-. Such a form as clepede (three sylls.), if it occur, must be regarded as a new formation from a blending of both types. In the Pl. the forms which do not syncopate the medial vowel lose the suffix -en, such forms as yelleden, strēmeden being rare, and being of course, like similar forms in the Sing., the result of blending (cp. ten Brink, Ch. Spr., § 194).

The O.E. -ian Vbs. in Sthn. and Kentish in M.E.

§ 342. This type is very common indeed in the Sth. and Kt., and originally obtained in the London dialect, though it disappears through the encroachment of the Midl. tendencies in the fourteenth century. Before this, such Infinitives as gepauien, werien, makien, tholie are found (Dölle, pp. 72 and 73). In fourteenth-century Kentish (Azenbite) the typical ending is -ie, -ye, or -y: louie, louye, louy; māki, māky 'make'; hātye, hātie 'hate'; polie, polye 'suffer'; lōki, lōky 'look'; ponki, ponky 'thank', etc. Many foreign verbs also have this ending: troubli, excusi, stonchi 'to staunch', etc., etc.

STRONG VERBS

Old English Period.

§ 343. These are divided into six classes, according to the vowel series represented in the forms. The forms which show the various gradation vowels are (1) Inf., (2) Pret. S., (3) Pret. Pl., (4) P. P. The type of the Inf. occurs also in Pres. Indic., Imperat., and Subj. The vowel of the Pret. Sing. occurs in 1st and 3rd Pers. of that; that of Pret. Pl. occurs also in 2nd Pers. of Pret. Sing., and in Pret. Subj. S. and Pl. The vowel of P.P. sometimes agrees with that of Pret. Pl., but in other classes is an independent vowel, not found in any other form of the verb.

§ 344. Class I.

344. Class 1.	_ * · ·	Dust Pl.	P.P.
Inf. bītan 'bite' drīfan 'drive' ġewītan 'depart'	Pret. S. bāt drāf ģewāl	Pret. Pl. biton drifon gewiton ridon	(ge)-biten drifen gewiten riden
vidan 'ride'	rād		

So also slīdan 'slide', snīpan 'cut', bīdan 'wait, bide', and. several others.

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§ 345. Class II.

Inf.	Pret. S.	Pret. Pl.	P.P.
beodan 'announce'	bead	budon	boden
seopan 'boil'	sea p	sudon	* soden
geotan 'pour'	gent	guton	goten
fleogan 'flee'	fleah	flugon	Rogen

So also *ceosan* 'choose', *hreowan* 'have pity, rue', *cleofan* 'cleave, split', *sceotan* 'shoot', etc.

NOTE. dufan 'dive', scufan 'thrust', brucan 'enjoy, use', lucan 'lock', belong to this class. The u may go back to ldg. ey.

§ 346. Class III. The original series in this class was Gmc. e, a, u, u. In West Gmc. and O.E. various combinative changes affect these vowels, according to the consonants which follow.

Group (a). Verbs whose base ends in nasal+another consonant:

bindan 'bind'	{band }	bundon	bunden
findan	fund	fundon	funden, etc.

So also cringan 'double up, fall', grindan 'grind', windan 'wind', gelimpan 'happen', climban 'climb'.

Group (b). Verbs whose base ends in 1 + consonant:

helpan	healp	kulpon	holpen
meltan	mealt	multon	molten

So also sweltan 'die', delfan 'delve, dig', swelgan 'swallow', etc.

Group (c). Verbs whose base ends in r, or h + consonant:

weorpan 'hurl'	wearp	wurpon	worpen
	cearf	cur fon	corfen

Also weorpan 'become', hweorfan 'turn, go', steorfan 'starve', in sense of 'die', beorgan 'protect', beorgan 'bark'.

feohtan 'fight' feaht fuhton fohten

Group (d). The following verbs either show the vowel series unchanged, or slightly modified by Fracture, or early change of u to ρ :

Inf.	Pret. S.	Pret, Pl.	P.P.
bregdan 'draw, brandish' a sword	brægd	brugdon	brogden
berstan 'burst'	bærst	burston	borsten
frignan 'ask, find out'	frægn	frugnon	frugnen
spurnan	spearn	spurnon	spornen

NOTE. Spurnan owes its vowel perhaps to the Pret. Pt. Frignan may owe its i to the analogy of friog(e)an 'ask', from same base == *fregjan, Idg.*prek-.

§ 347. Class IV.

Inf.	Pret. S.	Pret. Pi.	P.P.
beran 'bear' brecan 'break' stelan 'steal'	bžr	bæron	boren
	bržc	bræcon	brocen
	stžil	stælon	stolen

Also cwelan 'kill', helan 'conceal'.

NOTE I. Niman 'take', nom, nomon, numen, and cuman, $c(w)\partial m$, $c(w)\partial mon$, cumen are only irregular in appearance. Nim- instead of *nem- is due to the influence of m. Cum-, num- in P.P. are also due to change of o to u before m. The type cum- of 1st Pers. Pres. Indic. and Inf. is from earlier *cuuman from *cweeoman from cwiman. Cp. Goth. qiman, and § 110 and Note. Nom, $c(w)\partial m$, instead of nom, etc., are due to the analogy of the Pl. where ∂ is regular before a nasal (§ 99). We also get Pl. namon and Sing. nam (W.S. and Kt.).

NOTE 2. In non-W.S. these vbs. have of course ē in Pret. Pl. (§ 123).

§ 348. Class V.

Inf. ·	Pret, S.	Pret. Pl.	P.P.	
cwepan 'speak, say'	cweep	cwēdon	cweden	te O.E. spec-, etc.)
sprecan	spreec	sprēcon	sprecen (La	
tredan	treed	trēdon	treden	

W.S. giefan 'give', on-, be-, gietan 'perceive, obtain', etc., have the forms:

giefan	geaf	geafon	<i>ģiefen</i>
gietan	geat	geaton	gieten

The non-W.S. dialects have no diphthongization, and therefore *gefan*, *guf*, *gēfon*, *gefen*, etc. (§§ 115, 120, 123). The following belong to this class:

Inf.	Pret. S.	Pret. Pl.	P.P.
seon 'see'	seah	sāwon	sewen and sawen
refeon 'reinice'	gefeak	żeszegon	

seon from *sehwan (§§ 102, 112), seah from *sæh, sawon from *sæwum (cp. § 99 (b)); sawen formed on the analogy of

biddan 'pray', sittan 'sit', licgean 'lie down', are peculiar as forming the Inf. and 1st Pers. Pres. Indic. with a -ja- stem. This is responsible for i instead of e (W. Gmc. change) and also for the double consonants and cg: biddan from *beddjan, sittan from *settjan, licgan from *legjan. Gothic has bidjan where i for e is a characteristic isolative change. In other respects these verbs are quite regular: sittan, sæt, sæton, seten.

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§ 349. Class VI.

Inf.	Pret. S.	Pret. Pl.	49	P.P.
faran 'go' bacan 'bake'	for	foron i	co.	faren
bacan 'bake'	för böc	bocon		bacen

So also wascan 'wash', galan 'sing', hladan 'lade', wadan 'go, pierce', etc., etc.

sceacan 'shake' sc(e)oc sc(e)ocon sceacen

owes its diphthong to a late tendency which affected back vowels.

Inf. Pret. S. Pret. Pl. P.P. standan stöd . stodon standen slean 'strike' slagen, slegen (cp. § 107 on slog slogon swean 'wash' p.p. of slean) brudgen bwog

These verbs have Fracture, loss of h and contraction in

Inf. (§ 112).

A certain number of verbs of this class form Inf. and Pres. with -j-: sieppan 'injure' from *skappjan, swerian 'swear', steppan 'proceed', hliehhan 'laugh', etc.

These have mutated vowels and double consonants in the

forms mentioned, but are otherwise normal:

steppan stöp stöpon stupen, etc.

REDUPLICATING VERBS

§ 350. A few verbs in O.E. retain signs of reduplication in Pret. The reduplicated forms are chiefly used in poetry, though heht occurs by the side of hēt in prose.

hātan 'order'	hēht	cp. Goth	haiháit
rādan 'advise'	reord	49	ratrop
lācan 'play'	leolc	22	lailáik
lietan 'let'	leort	99	lailöt

§ 351. The following verbs have assimilated the reduplicated syllables:

Inf.	Pret. S.	Fret. Pl.	P.P.
fon 'catch, take'	feng	fengon	fangen
hon 'hang'	hèng	hēngon	hangen
feallan 'fall'	feoil	feollon	feallen
hleapan 'leap'	hleop	hleopon	hleapen

NOTE. For explanation of hon, fon, and fehp, etc., cp. §§ 98, 112, 105, 352.

Mutation of 2nd and 3rd Pers. Sing. in Strong Verbs.

§ 352. As the usual suffixes of these Pers. are -is(t), -i\(\beta\), the preceding vowel if back, or a diphthong is fronted: ceose-

ciesp, cume—cymp, fo-fehp; if e it is raised to i: cwepe—cwip, helpe—hilp(e)p, giefe—gifp, etc.

NOTES ON POINTS CONNECTED WITH THE VERB IN O.E.

(1) The prefix ge- (unstressed), generally used in the P.P. in O.E., without modification of meaning, is found in Gothic in the form ga- and in O.H.G. as gi-. It becomes 3e- and simply i- in Transition and Early Middle English. It disappears altogether in the Nth. in M.E., and to a great extent

in Midland, but survives longer in the South.

The survival of *i*- in the fourteenth-century dialect of London (Davie and Chaucer) must be regarded as one of the Southern features of that dialect. The prefix *ge*- is also used in O.E. with all parts of Verbs with the function of making intransitive verbs transitive, e.g. sittan 'sit', but *gesittan* 'occupy, take possession of', etc.; gān 'go, walk', but *gegān*, 'overrun, take' (a country, etc.).

Verner's Law.

(2) An interchange between h and g, h and d, often appears in O.E. Strong Verbs. This has primarily nothing to do with verbs as such, but is merely an illustration of a general principle of Sound Change which was active in Primitive Germanic, and it may appear in any class of words where the necessary conditions are present. It should be remembered that g and d stand for sounds which were originally voiced open consonants [3, 8] and not stops. The change, therefore, of h to g, h to d is simply one of voicing to start with, the original sounds being $[\chi, h]$. These represent Aryan k, t (later kh, th), which by the so-called Second Sound Shift are merely opened in Gmc. In positions other than initially (where x, p always remain), these sounds are voiced in Gmc. when the accent in Aryan and Early Gmc. fell on any other syllable than that immediately preceding the χ or p. Thus O.E. weorpan from *werpan from Aryan *wert-, but O.E. wurdon, Gmc. *wurdum, Aryan *wrtum. Similarly O.E. fæder, Gmc. *fadér, Aryan *potêr, which used to be regarded as an 'exception to Grimm's Law', is satisfactorily explained from the position of the primitive accent which still survives in Gk. πατήρ. This far-reaching law is called after the name of its discoverer, Karl Verner, who formulated it in 1877 in Kuhn's Zeitschrift, vol. xxiii, pp. 97-130. Under the same conditions primitive s was voiced to s, which usually appears in W.Gmc as r-O.E. was but waron, ceos-an but cur-on, etc.

THE STRONG VERBS IN M.E. AND LATER PERIODS

§ 353. The changes in the forms of Strong Verbs since the O.E. period have been determined partly by normal sound change, partly by the action of analogy working in various ways. The results of the latter factor have been (a) the levelling out of what proved to be an unnecessary variety of forms, and the reduction under fewer gradation-types; (b) the transference of verbs from one class to another.

These points may be briefly illustrated.

Normal Sound Change since O.E. Period.

§ 354. The series of vowels found in Cl. I in O.E. I, ā, I, I: rīdan—rād—ridon—riden, etc., became in M.E. I, ō, I, I by the change of ā to ō which took place in the Sth. and Midlands. In the Mod. Period a further set of changes made the series into [ai, ou, i], giving the Present-day [raid—roud—ridn]. Again, Cl. IV, which in O.E. had short vowels in all forms except the Pret. Pl.: brican—brac—brācon—brōcen, developed in M.E.—apart from other changes—long vowels in all forms except the Pret. Sing., through the M.E. process of lengthening which affected the short vowels of open syllables, thus giving brēken—brāk (also brāk)—brēken (also brāken)—brōken.

Levelling of Pret. Pl. under type of Singular (Northern Preterite).

§ 355. This mode of levelling is an early characteristic of the Northern dialects, and in the Nthn. Homilies, and Cursor Mundi, etc., we find Pret. Pls. such as faand, dranc, bigan, rāde (O.E. rād), sagh (O.E. sæh 'saw'), etc. This type of Pret. spread later to the London literary dialect, and to it we owe our forms sang, drank, forbade = [bæd], etc.

In M.E. this mode of reduction is an important sign of Northern origin, or at least Nthn. influence, when found in a doubtful text. It is referred to by German writers as nördlicher Ausgleich, and we may call such Prets. Northern

Preterites.

Levelling of Preterite under type of Past Participle (Western Preterite).

§ 356. While the dialects of the Sth. and Midlands preserve, on the whole, the distinction between the Singular and Plural of the Pret., where this existed in O.E., with fair

completeness during the whole M.E. and into the Modern Period, a tendency exists, especially among writers of the South-West and the Southerly West Midlands, to use the P.P. type in the Pret. as well. Gun, bygun, flow, fought, bounde, which occur severally in Lazamon, S. Marharete, Rob. of Glos., Trevisa, and Wycliffe, as Pret. Sing., cannot be derived from O.E. -gan, fleow, feaht, band, which normally produce M.E. -gan, flew, fauht, bond. The vowels in the form mentioned. or their ancestors, do however occur both in the Pret. Pl. and the P.P. (except in the case of fought)-O.E. gunnon, gunnen; flowon, flowen; fuhton; bundon, bunden. The new M.E. forms might therefore at first sight be derived from the Pret. Pl. type, and some writers explain them in this way, but as Bülbring points out (Abl. d. starken Zeitw., pp. 116-17), the Pret. Pl. type is the least permanent of the various forms of the Strong Verbs, and never survives in Mod. Engl. unless it be the type also of the Past Participle. While therefore the Pl. may have helped to fix its type in the Pret. Sing., it seems probable that the main influence was exerted by the P.P. The form fought in M.E. is ambiguous. While it cannot represent the old Pret. Sing., it may represent either fuht with ou for u, in which case it might be derived from the Pret. Pl., or the ou may stand for a diphthong, in which case it would represent the type of the old P.P. fohten.

The Mod. form [fot] cannot be descended from fuht, which would give [faut], but can perfectly well represent the old P.P. type, just as O.E. dohter, M.E. douhter (ou = diphthong) has become [dɔtə]. The spelling of the Present-day form points to the P.P. and not to the Pret. Sing. type fauht, which though it would also become [f5t] would be spelt faught.

This mode of develling is known as the Western type

(German, westlicher Ausgleich).

Transference of Verbs from one Class to another.

§ 357. The verb spēken, O.E. sprecan, belonged originally to Class V, and ran sprecan, spræc, spræcon, sprecen, but in M.E. a P.P. spoken, from which, of course, our form is derived, is found. It is clear that this form with o is on the analogy of the P.P. of Cl. IV, e.g. broken. This class differs from V only in having o in the P.P. Other verbs in M.E. undergo the same transference, such as zeuen 'give', for which a P.P. 30uen is often found, though this form can also be explained by assuming Scandinavian influence (see Price, p. 100, and references there given), and the Preterites slew, drew (O.E.

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slōg, drōg) which show the influence of the reduplicating verbs grōwan, grēōw, M.E. Pret. S. grēw. The contact must have arisen from the existence of a form (Inf.) slō, which would be parallel to grōw-, blōw-, etc. Slo actually occurs in Shake-speare, and may be from Scand. slā, or slew, drew may both be explained as loan-forms from the Nth., where *slā(wen), *drā(wen) would be parallel to blāwen—blēw, prāwen—prēw, etc.

NOTE. Owing to the very large number of questions, many of them of great interest, which arise in the history of the English Strong Vbs., it is utterly impossible, within the limits of a small book, to attempt to deal with the subject in any but the most superficial manner. A full treatment would mean to a great extent the discussion of each individual verb, the enumeration of all its forms at every period, and an account of how each form arose, in so far as it was not the normal representative of the O.E. form. Most of the vagaries fall, as a matter of fact, under one or other of the principles mentioned above. It is the details of the application of Analogy between one class and another which cause most difficulty. We can only deal here with a few outstanding verbs under each class. For a thorough treatment of the problems, and an enumeration of the chief facts, the student must refer to the works of Bülbring, Dibelius, and above all to the illuminating book of Price, with its copious collection of the forms of each verb found among writers from Caxton to Elizabeth. The following account is chiefly based on Price's work. I have had to resist the temptation to enter into many an alluring discussion, and have necessarily restricted the treatment mainly to the elucidation of the forms of Present-day Literary and Standard English. Further material from texts ranging from fifteenth to early eighteenth century will be found in my Hist. Coll. Engl., pp. 342-55.

The Classes of Strong Verbs in M.E. and Mod. English.

§ 358. Class I (O.E. $i-\tilde{a}-i-i$). Type: write, wrote, writen.

This class preserved its integrity to a great extent in M.E., and added the French estriver, M.E. strīve, stroof, strīven. The e-forms in P.P., wrēten, smēten, etc., found in M.E. and down to the seventeenth century, may be explained according to Luick's principle (§ 174) or from the non-W.S. wreoten, etc.

Bite preserves the old Pret. bote as late as 1557. The form is found in Caxton and Coverdale.

Chide, originally a Weak Verb (O.E. Pret. ¿īdde), passed into this class in fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Coverdale and Authorized Version of the Bible have chode, and P.P. chid and chidden appear in Shakespeare.

Slide retains slode in Caxton, and Ben Jonson allows it. Present-day slid may be explained from the P.P., but also may be due to hide, hid.

NOTE. Hide, an old weak verb, like chide, has been drawn partly into this class, the Pret. M.E. htdde suggesting the Pret. Pl. and P.P. type of Cl. I. The suffix -en in the P.P. shows that it is felt as a Strong Verb. When once hidden had arisen, comparable to slidden, it was natural for the latter verb to develop a Pret. Sing. slid.

Strike in M.E. had the normal Pret. strök, O.E. strāc. This became Early Mod. stroke. In early seventeenth century strook, struck began to take its place. By the side of M.E. strök there existed also a form strake, and a P.P. ströken, on analogy of brāke, bröken, helped by sāte, sitten, parallel to strāke, stricken. Struck may be due to analogy of stuck. Stick, earlier stēken, had forms stāke, stöken parallel to strāke, ströken, and it seems possible the latter may also have had an Inf. strick, when the analogy would be complete. Stuck itself may owe its vowel to the sting, stung Class.

The regular Verbs of this class in Present-day Engl. are

write, ride, stride (P.P. doubtful), smite, rise, drive.

Bide, abide, shine retain the old Pret. but have lost the P.P., the latter being either Weak, or having the vowel of the Pret. Shone is now pronounced both as [5n] and [50n].

§ 359. Class II (O.E. \overline{eo} — \overline{ea} —u—o). Types: freeze, frozen; choose, chosen.

In this class the interchange of s-r, d-d, etc., has been

eliminated.

Freeze. In O.E. -freosan, -freas, -fruron, -froren. The Present-day Inf. is normally derived from the O.E. form. The Old Pret. Sing. and Pl. have disappeared, and their place has been taken by the P.P. type, with s from the Inf. Caxton still has a Pret. frore with no alteration of the medial consonant. Frore is found in 1494, and froze first in Shakespeare. Milton's 'parching air burns frore' is the old P.P.

Flee, fly. The O.E. verbs fleon and fleogan differed only in the Inf. The former meant flee, the latter fly. Flee is descended from fleon, M.E. flee(n); fly from the type seen in 2nd and 3rd Pers. Sing. Pres. O.E. fliehst, fliehh, which produce a new M.E. Inf. flien, flye(n), the latter being found in Chaucer, etc. Chaucer uses the Pret. Sing. fleih, fley (O.E. fleh from fleah) indifferently in the senses 'flew' and 'fled', and indeed the Infinitives are also confused during the whole M.E. and well into the Mod. Period. The new Pret. fleu is found in Rob. of Glos., and is the ancestor of our flew. It is due to the analogy of the Reduplicating Verbs blowan, bleow, M.E. bleu, etc., and was encouraged by the form of the P.P. flowen (O.E. flogen) parallel to blowen, etc. Our P.P.

flown is of course descended from the O.E. and M.E. forms, It is possible that a further association with O.E. fleow from flowan 'flow' may have existed. Chaucer has also a Pret. Sing. flough 'didst fly', and a Pret. Pl. flowen in the sense of 'fled'. The former is from the old P.P. type flog-, M.E. flouh-; the latter is probably also from this type. In Early Mod. the new weak Pret. for flee comes in, and Tyndale has fleed which may simply be a new formation from flee + d, or, if ee represents a short vowel, it may be derived, as has been suggested, from O.E. fledan 'flow' (cp. flod), Pret. fledde, M.E. fledde. This would be the ancestor of our fled.

Choose. The O.E. ¿cosan-ceas-curon-coren is normally represented in Chaucer, so far as the Inf. and Pret. Sing. types are concerned, by cheesen [e], and chees [e]. The Pret. Pl. and P.P. are both chosen, which show the O.E. P.P. type as regards the vowel, the s [z] introduced from Inf. as in frozen, and ch generalized from the Inf. Pres. and Pret. Sing. The chese (Pret.) type is last found in the second quarter of the sixteenth century. Chose occurs in Pecock and in Caxton, but the latter also has Chaucer's form, and a form chase, the explanation of which is doubtful.

The former is of course the 'Western' penetration of the

P.P. type into the Pret.

It remains to explain the form choose [tfuz]. This may be derived from O.E. ceosan by a shifting of stress, giving M.E. chosen instead of chesen from O.E. ceosan. This type of Infin. is found before 1530. As early as 1300 chuse occurs in S. Marharete (W. Midl.), and in 1510 the spelling chewse is found, and this rhymes with refuse. This type, spelt chuse, continues side by side with choose, etc., during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. It is not infrequent in first quarter of the nineteenth century. The chuse-type, as seems to emerge from the rhyme, had the sound of $[\bar{y}]$, and this would point to an origin from O.E. eo, which was written u in M.E. in the Sth.-West, and W. Midl. We may derive this type, then, from a Western form of O.E. ceosan. Chuse [tfÿz] and choose [tfūz] would later be levelled under the latter pronunciation. See § 265 on Early Mod. [y].

O.E. leosan-leas-luron-loren. This has now been merged in the Wk. Verb. It owes its spelt form to O.E. losian, and its vowel sound possibly to association with loose, or as suggested in the case of choose, by a stress-shifting in O.E., that is, a form leosan, M.E. losen. The normal descendant of the O.E. Inf. is M.E. lesen, which occurs as late as

Shakespeare, and the Authorized Version. In Sth. M.E., Pret. Sing. -les, Pl. -luren are found. Early Mod. has the Wk. lost. The old P.P. lorn and forlorn are often used in sixteenth century, and a case is recorded as late as the eighteenth. The Adj. forlorn with an independent meaning is now quite dissociated from its original connexions. It is used as an Adj. as early as the middle of the twelfth century.

& 360. Class III (O.E. in-an-un-un). Types: sing. sang, sung; find, found, found; (el-(e)al-ul-ol): swell,

Most of the old verbs with nasals have preserved the original forms. In find, etc., the lengthening of the vowels

before -nd has produced the interchange [ai-au].

Cling, sing, spin, begin, spring, ring, swim, drink, stink, sink preserve the three types of the old Inf. and Pres., the Pret. Sing., and the P.P. Swing, win, slink, sting, sling, fling, on the other hand, have levelled the Pret, under the P.P. type, Wan, span are still found in sixteenth century, clang in fifteenth, wrang in Shakespeare, wroong, wrong in Spenser,

flang in Ascham, flong in Kyd.

Of the verbs with e-help, delve, melt, swell, and yield-the form swollen is still used, but more as an adj. than a P.P., the ordinary form of which would be swelled, while the Pret. is always weak; molten is purely adjectival, delve is practically obsolete except in mannered speech or writing, and is always weak; holpen survives in the public mind simply on account of its occurrence in the Magnificat. Yield is now a Wk. Verb. The old Pret. yold(e) from O.E. geald, or perhaps from the O.E. P.P. type gölden, is found in Caxton, and in Spenser. P.P. yolden is found as late as Gascoigne (died 1577).

Turning to the find-group-Late O.E. findan, fand, fundon, funden-we find this preserved in Chaucer as finden, fond, founden, founden, and the fond-type in Pret. survives in Caxton and his contemporaries, and into the sixteenth century. But Caxton and other fifteenth-century writers also use the P.P. type founde, and this is the exclusive form in the principal

sixteenth-century writers.

The verbs bind, grind, wind have very much the same

history as find.

Run demands a few words to itself. The O.E. forms were: irnan, iernan, yrnan, eornan (Merc.), arn, urnon; rinnan, rann, runnon, runnen. The M.E. Inf. and Pres. type is usually renn- which is probably Scandinavian. The earliest example of run as Pres. type is about 1325 (Metr. Hom.), and this form in a Northern dialect is difficult to explain. It is hardly the ancestor of our form, unless indeed it be a borrowing from the Sth. or Midlands. The old Sthn. yrnan would become M.E. wrnen, which with metathesis would give runnen and Mod. run. On the other hand, this might be derived from Merc. eornan, which would also become urnen in W. Midl. (y from a).

§ 361. Class IV (O.E. $e-x-\bar{x}-o$). Types: bear, bare (bore), born; break, brake (broke), broken.

Bear. In non-W.S. the Pret. Pl. was beron, etc., in O.E., and in Kentish, and part of the Merc. area, the Pret. Sing. was ber. In M.E. we find ber-beren in the Sth. lengthening may be a natural process in syllables ending in a single consonant (though this is doubtful), but it may also be explained from the analogy of the other forms of the verb, which all had long vowel-beren, bere, boren, with lengthening in open sylls., in Pres., Inf., and P.P., and beren with an original long vowel in Pret. Pl. Those dialects which retained O.E. & retracted this to & in M.E., and here we get a Pret. Sing. bar and bar(e), where the lengthening may be explained like that in ber. This M.E. bar was the ancestor of bare, so common in fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries.

In Gen. and Ex. we already find a Pret. Sing. bore which need not be due entirely to the P.P. type of the same verb, but partly also to the analogy of swor. The two verbs would then run sweren-swor-sworen; beren-bor-boren. In this case the ō in the Pret. would be tense, that in the P.P. boren slack, unless the two verbs were completely levelled under one type, probably that of sweren, with tense o, in Pret. and P.P.

only form changed then would be boren.

Modern bore in Literary and Standard Engl. is clearly the P.P. type. This Pret. begins to come into use in the sixteenth century.

Break, shear, tear, wear, steal. The M.E. forms of these verbs are parallel to those of beran. Both brak and brak(e) existed in Pret. Sing., as is seen from the rhymes. The latter gave the Biblical and general sixteenth- and seventeenthcentury brake. Broke of course comes from the P.P., and the same is true of shore, tore, wore, stole. The Pret. stale, as well as brake, tare, ware, all occur in the Authorized Version, the first and last being much less common than the others.

O.E. cuman, cwòm, còm, cwomon, comon, cumen. This verb is quite irregular already in O.E., the normal vowel sequence being seen in the verb niman, nam, nomon, numen

(cp. Gothic giman-gam-gemum-gumans), The Presentday Inf. may be the normal descendant of M.E. cumen (written comen), or, as Luick believes, it may be from M.E. comen, with lengthening and lowering of u to o in cu-me. Our Pret. came presupposes a M.E. cam, which certainly existed by the side of cam. This latter may be either a survival of a normal O.E. cam or cwam unrecorded, or it may be a M.E. formation on the analogy of năm, a comparatively common word in M.E. clear that no other verbs of this Class could have influenced the forms of come, as they are quite differentiated from it by various combinative changes. The ā in cām can be accounted for by the influence of the quantity of the Pret. Pl. comen. Caxton and the Latest London Charters (Lekebusch) have came, but other fifteenth-century writers still use the old come, written sometimes coome, and (in Cely Papers) cwm [=kūm]. Chaucer has cam-camen, and coomen in the Pret.

§ 362. Class V (O.E. $e-x-\bar{x}-e$).

None of the verbs in this class are in all respects the absolute representatives of the O.E. forms. Speak has passed completely into Class IV; bid from O.E. biddan has become blended with O.E. bēodan; sit has abandoned its P.P. type altogether; fret has become quite isolated from eat, and is weak; eat itself alone among these verbs preserves the old P.P. type, but has lost its old Pret. Give and get have undergone changes of various kinds not only in the vowels of all the types, but also in the initial consonants. It will be seen that most verbs of this class developed, at one time or another, P.P.'s in ô, which vowel penetrated to the Pret. as well. Mod. Engl. has in some cases got rid of the ô-forms.

Speak necds•no particular comment. Its history is very similar to that of break. Spōken is found in Pret. Pl. in E. M.E., and it must have got there presumably from the P.P., which had been formed from brōken by the complete association of the two verbs in their other forms. The usual M.E. form in the Pret., however, is spāk, and Chaucer has a Pret. Pl. spēken [ē]. Spoke does not become the usual Pret. form till after 1600.

Tread. Parallel to spake, etc., Caxton has Pret. trad, trade. Sixteenth-century writers have also Pret. troad, P.P. troaden. Other writers in this and the following century have both trod, trode, troden, troden.

Bid, forbid. O.E. biddan, bžd, bždon, bžden, 'pray'. From this we can explain our Pres. and Inf. type, and the Pret.

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forms [bæd] and [beid] from M.E. type bade. The P.P. bidden, found already in M.E. and common in the Elizabethan period, is less easy to explain. It is difficult to establish an association between this verb and the ridden group of P.P.'s except through the Pret. bode which may have existed in the sixteenth century. The spelling is often found, but Price finds it difficult to settle the length of the vowel. If long it could be explained from a P.P. boden, and this in the same way as troden, spoken. Having formed a Pret. bode like rode, it would be easy and natural to form a new P.P. bidden like ridden. On the other hand, it seems certain that short forms bod, boden also existed, and these can be explained as due to M.E. bod(e)n, a by-form of bo-den. The short bod in the Pret. may be due to this type of P.P.

By the side of bid in the Pres. and Inf., M.E. and Early Mod. (Chaucer and Caxton) have bede, and also beden in the P.P. The latter is the normal descendant of the O.E. form. The former may be explained from confusion with O.E. beodan, M.E. bêden 'to command'. The P.P. of this verb would be boden or boden (from bod(e)n), and the short type would account

for a Pret, bod.

Eat has now usually the Pret. [st], though in Ireland people often say [it] from the P.P. type. The short type of Pret. is found already in the fourteenth century, and is probably due to the analogy of the weak Prets. led, M.E. ledde from lead E. Mod. and M.E. bet from beat, etc. The archaic Pret. ate, preserved to some extent in the spelling but rarely in speech, presupposes a M.E. ate, and frate from O.E. fretan is found. The explanation of these forms is the same as that of bade, spake, etc. The P.P. eaten is quite normal, and the Scotch [stn] is due to M.E. Eln.

Get, beget, forget. O.E. - ģietan (non-W.S. ģetan, -ģeolan), - geat (non-W.S. - gat, -get), -geaton (non-W.S. geton), -geten, is always compounded with on-, bi-, for-. The use of uncompounded get, the short vowel, and its initial consonant are alike due to Scandinavian influence (O.N. geta). The M.E. native forms of the Inf. and Pres. are zeten, yeten, yuten, etc. The M.E. Pret. Sing. was 3at, yat from gat, and 3et from get. The Pret. Pl. was either yaten, etc., by the side of Sing. yat, yat, or the normal yeten from the non-W.S. geton. By the side of these, forms with initial g- are also found, and Chaucer has gete, gat, geten. The existence of gate (Pret. Sing.) is also established by rhymes for M.E. and Early Mod.

Caxton has Pret. gat, gatte, and gate, and usually -yeten,

-yete in P.P. He has, however, the o-forms for- and be-goten, and these are common in the Latest London Ch. (Lekebusch). The o-forms, according to Price, are not established till near the end of the sixteenth century. While forgotten has remained in Standard English, the uncompounded gotten was rarer than got after 1600, except in the Authorized Version and two other

writers cited by Price.

As might have been expected, long forms such as $g\bar{o}te$ (rhyming with $wr\bar{o}te$) occur in sixteenth-century English. Price sums up this question by saying, 'It looks as if at the beginning of the period (E. Mod.) there were in the Inf. alternative forms with long and short e, in the P.P. with long and short o, in the Pret. two sets, with long and short a and with long and short o; that the long forms in Inf. and Pret. with \bar{o} were already obsolescent, while the long a lasted through the whole period '.

Give. O.E. (W.S.) giefan, geaf, geafon, giefen; non-W.S. gefan, geofan-gæf, gef-grfon, gefen, geofen. It may be said at once that the two chief problems are the initial consonant and the vowel, in Mod. give. It is quite certain that O.E. g- could not become [g] and we may put this down to Scandinavian influence. As regards the vowel in give, this has been variously explained as due to the analogy of the 2nd and 3rd Pers. Pres. gifst, gifp (from *gebis, *gebip), or from a W.S. form gifan, P.P. gifen (from gief-). Another possibility is the analogy of begin through gan parallel to gaf, yaf. The normal M.E. forms from non-W.S. are yeuen, yaf, yaue (yef), yauen, yauen. By the side of these, give, gaf, geven, given, etc., are also found in M.E., which are a blend between the O.N. and the English types. Again, a Pret. youe, goue also The latter may be either pure Scand. (O.N. gofom Pret. Pl.) or derived from the W.S. Pl. geafon with a shifting of stress to the second element of the diphthong. The form 3afen from Laud. Chron. may conceivably be the ancestor of youe, etc., but this is very doubtful. Since P.P. forms youen, govyn are found in the fifteenth century, these may be due to the same analogy as the other ō P.P.'s in this class, and the type then extended to the Pret.

The yeve-forms in Inf., etc., are very usual in the London dialect of fifteenth century, though Caxton besides this form has also geue, but more often gyue. In the London Charters (Lekebusch) yeue is most frequent, but geue is also common, and giue, gyue, etc., are much rarer. During the sixteenth century yeve practically dies out, but geue still predominates

over gyne, give, etc. There is reason for thinking that the spelling give, etc., often stands for the pronunciation [gīv], so that the geve-type is really commoner than appears at first sight. It may be noted that the final consonant appears both as v (or u) and f. The latter is due to generalizing the final sound of the Pret. Sing., the former to the other inflected forms.

The give-forms are fixed by seventeenth century.

In the Pret, the y- dies out during the sixteenth century. Sir T. Smith refers to yaf and yave as antiquated. Henceforth the struggle is between the short gaf and the long gave, and the latter becomes the only form in most of the principal writers before the end of the century. In the P.P. the y-forms die out by the end of the fifteenth century, but the two forms geven, given (in various spellings) remain during the whole sixteenth century, geven becoming gradually less and less frequent, until, after the first quarter of the seventeenth century, it apparently disappears from Literature altogether.

At least two examples of geven [givan] occur, however, in

the Wentworth Papers in 1706.

See. O.E. seon-seah, sah-sawon (also, poetical), sagonsewen, sawen. The adj., W.S. gestene 'visible', non-W.S. gesene, is also used as a P.P. already in O.E. in Anglian. This form spreads, and becomes the usual one in M.E., e.g. Chaucer, etc., yseene, Present-day seen.

The M.E. forms of the Pret. are: sauh, whence saugh and saw, from Angl. sæh through såh; seih which may represent a Sth. seh, with diphthonging before a fronted h; $s\tilde{y} = si$, also sih from the O.E. Pl. type sægon, sæh, seh, sih (cp. i 'eye'

from ¿h).

The saw-type appears to be Anglian in origin; it does not occur early in the South. The -w is presumably due to the influence of the Pl. It is possible that sei, etc., may sometimes be due to the Pl. sæzen, M.E. sezen, seyen.

In Early Mod. the London dialect seems generally to have used the ancestors of our present forms, though such P.P. forms as sayn, seyne, etc., still survive, from earlier -segen.

Sit. O.E. sittan—sæt--sæton (non-W.S. sēton)—seten The only noteworthy point about this verb in Present-day English is the disappearance of the old P.P., which has been replaced by the Pret. type. In Early Mod. set was often used, generally with the auxiliary be-'I am, was set,' etc., which may be either a survival of the old PP, or that of the wk.

settan. In Early Mod. a P.P. sitten is sometimes used, and also sat and sate.

Bequeath, quoth. The former of these two is now always weak and seems to have been so during the whole Mod. period. The uncompounded verb appears only in Pret. during Mod. period, sometimes as quod, sometimes as quoth. The o-forms are found both in the Pret. and P.P. during E. M.E. -quod, quoden, etc., as well as the normal quap, quaden, queden. Various explanations have been suggested to account for quoth, but since it is found in the P.P. as well as in the Pret., it is difficult to see why it should not be due, like the o-forms of so many verbs in this class, to the analogy of the P.P. of Class IV. We know that spoke-spoken existed, and the association in meaning between spoke and quoth or quod is surely close enough. In the now antiquated and half jocular expression quotha, we have quoth + a, the Sthn. form of the Pers. Pron. which we saw already in Trevisa (§ 306). Against the above explanation of quoth, it must be recorded that this form occurs in early texts where spak, etc., are the usual Pret. forms. It may, as Bülbring suggests, be due to the influence of w, and that perhaps chiefly in unstressed positions. In this case it is from quab and is short.

Lie. O.E. licgan—læg—lægon—legen. The direct descendant of the old Inf. and Pres. is M.E. liggen (lidžen). As with so many verbs of this type, a new Inf. and 1st Pers. Pres. are formed from the analogy of the 2nd and 3rd Pers., O.E. lig(e)st, lig(e)st, which give in M.E. ligest, ligest, whence the new forms, ich lige, or lye, Inf. lyen, etc. N.E.D. records ligge (probably=[lig] a Nthn. type) as late as 1590. The Mod. forms lay, lain•are normal descendants of the O.E. forms. After 1400 a type of P.P. lyen, on the analogy of Inf. lye, is common. This form still remains in the Prayer Bk. version of the Psalms—though ye have lien among the pots.

Weave is like speak in having o-forms in Pret. wove, and P.P. woven.

§ 363. Class VI (O.E. $a-\bar{o}-\bar{o}-a$; also with i-mutation

In Inf. type, e-o-o-a.

This class has had a varied fate. Some verbs have preserved the old forms, or their Mod. equivalents, like shake; others have passed into the group of Reduplicating Verbs like slay, but more have become wholly weak, or preserve a strong form, constantly, or occasionally.

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Shake, take (of Scand. origin), forsake, all have now the gradation [ei, u, ei-(en)], though wake and awake have woke awoke, and also weak forms.

Stand (understand) has lost its old P.P. standen and uses the Pret. type, just as sit does. This form of P.P. was introduced in the fifteenth century and gradually won, though stande, stonde are also in use during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. By the side of these a weak -standed is common in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, in the P.P., but not, apparently, in the Pret.

Swear has [5] in the Pret. before r, instead of $[\bar{u}]$ (§ 238). The P.P. swore occurs already in the fourteenth century. It may easily be accounted for on the analogy of $b\bar{o}re(n)$. The Biblical Pret. sware also shows the influence of Cl. IV.

Draw, slay, with their Prets. from the Reduplicating group, have already been discussed above, § 357. Gnaw also shows some instances of a Pret. gnew in sixteenth century. The P.P. gnawen is less rare, in fact it may be heard to-day. Already in the fourteenth century the weak Pret. was in use, and this is found in Auth. Vers. and other sixteenth and seventeenth century texts. The verb is often spelt knaw from fifteenth to eighteenth century.

Bake has long been a weak verb. O.E. bōc was replaced by a weak Pret. in the fifteenth century, but the P.P. baken is found in the sixteenth century.

Wash already in E.M.E. formed a Pret. weeshe, weoshe after the model of the Reduplicating Verbs. This is still in use in Caxton's works, but the wk. Pret. is found in Coverdale. The strong P.P. still survives in the adj. unwashen.

Wax. Tottel and Spenser still have the old Pret. wox, but a commoner form, in Caxton and later, is wex, the ancestor of which is found already in O.E. weox. Here we have the influence of the Reduplicating Verbs. The P.P. waxen is still found in Shakespeare, and the Auth. Vers.

Shape. The Pret. shope is still found in Surrey, Coverdale, and Spenser. The strong P.P. is found in Caxton and in Coverdale. The compounds with mis-, un-, ill-, which are of course Adjectives, from the old P.P., still survive.

Shave has now only shaved, shaven, is now an Adjective, but was used as a P.P. during the whole Elizabethan period. The old strong Pret. shove occurs in Caxton and Coverdale.

Heave is now usually weak throughout, but the strong Pret. hove is still in colloquial use.

Laugh. The Pret. lough, normally descended from O.E. hloh, was frequent down to the end of the fifteenth century, but is not found often after 1500. See § 260 and Note on relation of our [lāf] to the form recorded by the spelling.

§ 364. REDUPLICATING VERBS

A. Beat. This is the only survivor of the class. But for the P.P. in -en we should probably feel this verb as weak. The O.E. forms were beatan—beot—beoton—beaten. Though now levelled, the Inf. and Pret. must in Late M.E. or early Mod. have been [bet—bit] respectively. The Early Mod. forms collected by Price do not show any distinction made in the spelling.

The new bet, Pret. or P. P., on the analogy of such weak forms as met, now only jocular, was used by Scott.

B. Blow-Class. Blow, blow, blown represent O.E. blawan, bleow, bleowon, blawen. To this class belong also crow (also weak), know, throw, mow (now only weak).

Sow still retains strong P.P. but has weak Pret. and often a weak P.P.

Flow is now only weak, though its old strong P.P. may have helped to fix flown as P.P. of fly.

Hew, now generally weak, has also a strong P.P., especially in passive—hewn down, Adj. rough-hewn, unhewn, etc.

Snow has long lost its old Pret. snew and P.P. snow(e)n, but these survived in literary English in the sixteenth century, and the Grammarian Charles Butler (1632) still recognizes them.

C. Fall-Class. O.E. feallan—feoll—feollon—feallen. Our fell and fallen are normal representatives of the old forms. The common M.E. fill (Chaucer) has not been satisfactorily explained.

Hold is from the Angl. hāldan. The Sthn. and Kt. hēlden still survives, though rarely, in Chaucer (§ 165). A few cases of held as an Inf. are found in M.E. Nthn. texts. Here they must be either loan-forms from Sth. or new formations from 3rd Pers. Sing. (see § 166 Note). A few scattered forms are

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found in the sixteenth-century Acts of Parliament, and Price explains these from the Pret. This is certainly right, for seeing how rare the non-Anglian forms are in M.E. these can hardly

be survivals of the old Sthn. form.

The old P.P. holden survives still in official language-'at a meeting holden on such and such a day'. The compound beholden, now rather archaic, is still used. Price's holden-forms seem to occur mostly in official sources. The Pret. held is shortened from M.E. hēld.

IRREGULAR VERRS

§ 365.	To 1	e.	ARREGI	JUAR V	ERBS		
O.E. Pres. Indic.				Pres. Subj.			
Sing. { e i Pl. { e i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i	W.S. com cart is we re is	sindon sint	Merc. eam eart is earun sind sindon	Nthn am arð is aron sint sinde		S. & Merc. siē, si	Nthmb. S. and Pl. sīē, sē
	"be'-type. Pres. Ind			Pres. Subj.			
Sing. $\begin{cases} \delta \tilde{b} \\ \delta \tilde{b} \end{cases}$	V.S.	Merc. brom bis(t) biod	Nthmb. biom bist bid biodun biad	W.S. & Merc. bio beo beon bion	Nthmb.	Inf. beon, be Part. Pres. d Imperat. bee	beond e
Sing, Preterite Indic.							
ic, þe wæs þu wære he wæs		wæren (non-W.S. wēre			Inf. wesan Part. Pres. wesende		
Pret.	Subj. S	. wēre ;	Pl. wæren			wes; Pl. w	vesað

M.E. 1st Pers. S. All dialects agree in having am (æm, ham), as the usual form; beo is also found in E. Midl. and Pers. S. Nth. has es; E. and W. Midl. art; Southern and Kt. beb, art.

3rd Pers. S. Nth. es; Midl. is, ys, W. Midl. also beop and

bup; Sthn. beop, beb, is; Kt. brop, brep, byep.

Pl. (all Pers.) Nth. ar. are, er, ere, bes (ben); W. Midl. ben, arn, beop, bep (P. Plowm.); E. Midl. aren, ben (Orm. has also sinndenn); Sthn. beop, bep; Kt. biop, bieb,

The London sources before Chaucer have is: Pl. beob. beon. ben; beo, be Subj. Pres.; Pret. was, wes, was; Pl. weren, were;

Inf. beon, be (Dölle, p. 76).

Chaucer has am, art, is, Pl. been, bee, rarely arn (ten Brink. § 107). The fourteenth-century London documents agree on the whole with this, but occasionally have the Sth. Pl. beb (Morsbach, Schriftspr., p. 149). Caxton's usage agrees with that of to-day in Sing. In Pl. he has ar, but also ben, be (Römstedt, p. 50).

The later London Documents show some variety in the Pl.: London Charters been, ben; State Records are; Parliamentary Records usually been, ben, occasionally byn, buth twice; ar, arne, arn not infrequently (Lekebusch, pp. 126, 127, 128).

The other parts of this verb in M.E. are: Inf. been, be, Kt. bi; Imperat. Nth. bē; Midl. bē, Pl. bēb; Sth. bē, bēb; Subj.

Pres. beo, Pl. beon, etc., beob.

Pret. was, wes (wast 2nd Sing. L. M.E. -t on analogy of ar-t), wēren, wēre; Subj. Pret. wēre.

Pres. Part. (Chaucer) being; Past Part. (i)-ben, (i)-be.

Be in the Pres. Indic. survives in many Regional Dialects, used both as S. and Pl. In Standard and Literary it is extinct, except as a poetical archaism in the Pl. and in the Subj. Are, originally Nth. and Nth. Midland, penetrated early into the London Dialect, probably from E. Midl., but was not exclusively used, even in the literary language, till the seventeenth century.

PRETERITE PRESENT AND OTHER ANOMALOUS VERBS

§ 366. Pret.-Pres. Verbs have, with the function of a Present Tensey one which is a strong Pret. in form. They form new Pret. forms with the weak suffix -de, -te.

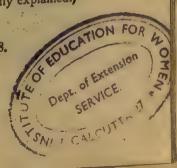
Can.

O.E. Inf. cunnan 'to be able, to know'. Past Part. cup 'known', cp. un-cup 'unknown', formally identical with uncouth.

Pres. Indic. S. can, canst, can (also con, etc.); Pl. cunnon. Pret. S. cupe 'knew, could', cupest, cupe; Pl. cupon. (O.E. cape, Goth. kunpa have never been satisfactorily explained.)

Pres. Subj. S. cunne; Pl. cunnon. Pret. Subj. S. cūbe; Pl. cūbon.

M.E. (Chaucer's forms), cp. ten Brink, § 198. Inf. connen; P.P. kouth.



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Pres. Ind. S. can, canst, can; Pl. conne(n) [kunen].

Pret. kouthe, koude.

The London Documents preserve distinction between S. can, Pl. conne in 1425, and in Pret. have coude, koude (Morsbach, pp. 148, 150, 151); Pecock (1449) has Pres. Pl. kunnen, and coupist in Pret.

Caxton still appears to distinguish the Pl. conne from Sing.

can occasionally (Römstedt, p. 48).

Coverdale (1535) has Pret. coude, and also the new spelling coulde, on analogy of would, should (Swearingen, p. 42).

§ 367.

Dare.

O.E. Pres. Ind. S. dear(r), dearst, dear(r); Pl. durron. Pret. dorste; Pl. dorston. Subj. dyrre, durre.

M.E. (Chaucer). Pres. S. dar, darst, dar; Pl. dor. Pret. dorste.

In Mod. Engl. there is a tendency to inflect dare like an ordinary Pres. he dares not do it, by the side of the more historical daren't. Similarly a new Pret. dared has been formed, used both intransitively and transitively-I dared him to do it. Durst is now felt to be old-fashioned, and is becoming obsolete.

§ 368.

May.

O.E. Inf. magan; Part. Pres. magende.

Pres. Ind. S. mæg, meaht (and miht), mæg; Pl. magon (and mægon).

Pret. meahte, mehte (Late W.S. mihte).

Subj. mæge (L. W.S. mage); Pl. mægen (L. W.S. magon), Latest O.E. muge.

M.E. (Early). Sth. S. mei, Kt. mai; Midl. mazz (Orm), may, mayst; Pl. Sth. mahen, moze, muwen; Kt. muze, mowe; E. Midl. muzhenn (Orm).

Inf. (W. Midl.) mow.

Pret. Kt., E. Midl. mihte, michte, mizte, mighte: Sth. mahte. Pl. E. Midl. mihten, muhten.

Chaucer has S. may, might (mayest), may; Pl. mowen, mowe, mow, may; Pret. mighte.

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The London Documents and Caxton agree with Chaucer, except that Caxton has, as in Present-day English, may in the Pl. instead of the older mowe (Römstedt, p. 42).

§ 369.

Shall.

O.E. Inf. sculan, sceolan.

Pres. Indic. S. scieal (non-W.S. scieal, scieal); Late W.S. sciel, sciealt, sciealt, scieal, scieal, etc.; Pl. sciulon, scieolon, Late W.S. sciylon.

Pret. Indic. S. sceold, scolde; Pl. sceoldon.

Subj. (W.S.) sciele, scyle, scile.

M.E. Pres. Indic. S., Sthn. scal, schal; Pl. schulen, ssullen; Kt. scel, ssel, sselt, ssalt; Pl. scule, ssollen; E. Midl. shall, schal, sal, salt, schalt, shalt; Pl. schullen, shulenn, sulen, schulle, shul; W. Midl. schal, shall, schalt; Pl. schul, schulle; Allit. P. has also the curious forms schin, schyn 'shall', once each in Cleanness; Nth. sal S. and Pl. (salle).

Pret., Sth. sceolde; Pl. sceolden, scholde, schulde; Kt. sceolde, sceolden, ssolde, (Azend, has 2nd S. ssoldest); E. Midl. schollde, shollde, sholden, sulde, sulden, scholde, shuld; W. Midl. schulde;

Nth. suld.

London Dialect. Earliest London sources shal; Pr. schullen, shullen; Pret. sholde, shuld (Dölle, p. 76). Chaucer: shal, shalt, shal; Pl. shullen, shul (shold); Pret. sholde. Later Official Lond. Documents: shall; Pl. shullen, shul, shalle, shal; Pret. sholde, shold, shulde, shuld. Pecock distinguishes between the S. and Pl. types, schol, schullen. Caxton still sometimes distinguishes Pl. shul, shulle from Sing. shal(l), but more usually levels both under the type of the Sing. (Römstedt, 48).

§ 370. • Ought.

This word is the descendant of the old Pret. āhte of O.E. āgan 'possess, own', a Pret. Pres. verb. In its present force expressing moral obligation, it occurs in Pres. as well as Pret. as early as the middle of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century. Thus, bename him al đet he ahte to hauen 'deprived him of all that he ought to have', Laud Chr. Ann. 1140; We azen pene sunnedei swipeliche wel to wierpien 'we ought to honour Sunday exceedingly', Lambeth Homs., Morris and Skeat, I, p. 20.

§ 371.

Owe

is the normal descendant of agan 'possess', M.E. owen 'possess obligations, to be bound, obliged': in M.E. therefore

not isolated in meaning from the Pret. \$\tilde{a}_3te\$, \$\tilde{o}_ughte\$. Rob. of Glos. has \$pe treupe ich ou to \$pe\$, and Wycliffe \$3cld pat pou owisz (Kellner-Bradley, p. 272). The word gradually loses the sense of \$possess\$ and means 'owe an obligation', and finally 'owe money', etc.

§ 372. Own

is from O.E. āgnian 'own, possess', and has entirely taken the place of the O.E. āgan in meaning.

§ 373. Will.

O.E. Inf. willan; Pres. Part. willende. Pres. Indic. S. wile, wilt, wile; Pl. willah.

Pret. wolde; Pl. wolden.

Ne wille, etc., becomes nylle, the w first rounding i and then being lost.

M.E. The forms are wile, wille, wulle, wulle, wol(e). Of these the wule-type is from wille, with rounding of the vowel after w. Wol, on the other hand, is a new formation, derived by Analogy from the Pret. wol-de.

The following shows the distribution of the types:

Wille Kt. Vesp. A. 22, Shoreh., Azenb., Trin. Homs. Wile O. and N., P.M., Orm., Gen. and Ex., Havelok, Horn, Bokenam.

Wulle \ Lambeth Homs., Laz., A.R., Horn.

Wol(e) P.M., Laz., Robt. of Glos., Hendyng, Havelok, Horn, Wil. of Pal. (only form).

Wol appears to become more common after the beginning of the fourteenth century; it is found both in the E. and W. Midl., chiefly in the latter, and to some extent in Sthn. It appears to be absent from Kt. texts, and does not occur in Morris's Glossary to Azenbite. It does not occur in the earliest London sources (Dölle, p. 76). In Gower it is very common, and is in fact the only form in Macaulay's Glossary to Selections. Chaucer has wil, but more often wol, especially in his prose. In the London Documents wil, wille (S. and Pl.) appears to occur in Morsbach's references about fifteen times, as against wol about thirty-five times (Schriftspr., pp. 149, 151, 152). Caxton, according to Römstedt (p. 49), has only wil(le) in 1st and 3rd Sing., but wolt as well as wilt, and woll as well as wil(le) in Pl. The later London Documents have

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both will and wol; in the Lond. Ch. will predominates; in State Records and Parliamentary Records both forms seem equally frequent (Lekebusch, pp. 126, 127, 128).

Coverdale has only wil, wyl (Swearingen, p. 42), and the

same is true of Edward VI's First P. B. (1549). The wol-type survives in won't, from wol not.

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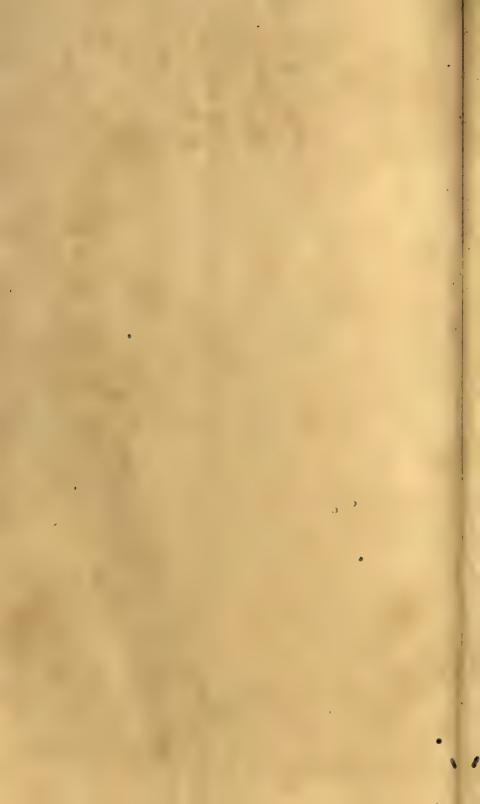
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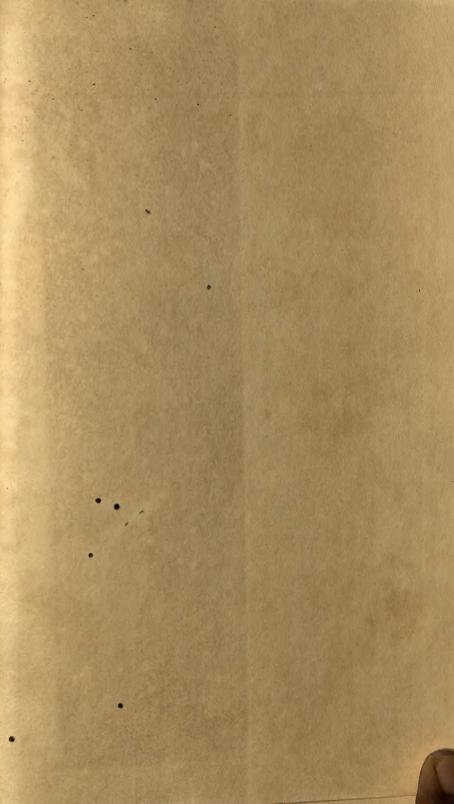
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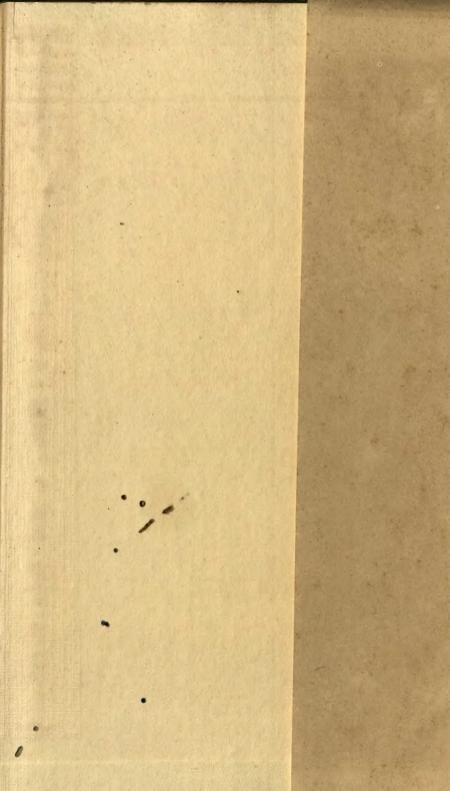












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